

A HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES
REVISED EDITION

COLUMBUS

BY JOAQUIN MILLER

Then pale and worn, he paced his deck,
And peered through darkness — Ah, that night
Of all dark nights! And then a spark —
A light! A light! At last a light!
It grew, a starlit flag unfurled!
It grew to be Time's burst of dawn!
He gained a world; he gave that world
Its grandest lesson: "On! sail on!"

From "Joaquin Miller's Complete Poems," by courtesy of Harr Wagner Publishing Company, San Francisco.



A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR SCHOOLS

REVISED EDITION

By S. E. FORMAN

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LESSONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY," ETC.



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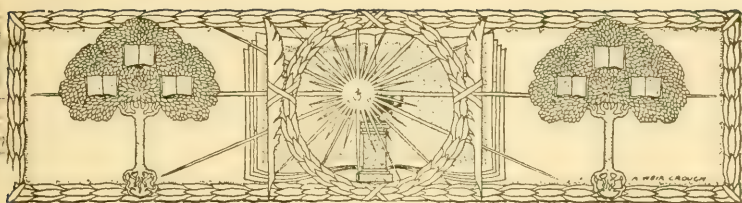
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PREFACE

This Revised Edition of my *History of the United States for Schools* may with propriety be called a new book. Many new chapters have been added; most of the original chapters have been re-written; many important structural changes have been made; the European background has received a much more elaborate treatment; the industrial features of our growth have been more fully described; the space allotted to the period since the Civil War has been more than doubled; the facts of recent history have been stated in much greater detail. While these changes, however, are substantial and far-reaching, it must not be inferred that the plan of the original book has been wholly abandoned. For in the first edition there were certain characteristic features of treatment that met with general approval, and it will be found that those features are still prominent in this edition.

I have tried to tell the story in a simple, straightforward way. History teaching is suffering not a little of late by reason of the complicated and confusing manner in which texts are being written. Some authors have adopted what may be called the *zig-zag* method of presenting the subject. They run ahead and come back, repeat, and overlap. History that has amounted to anything was never written in this see-saw fashion. If you want your history to be interesting you must *visualize* the Past, and you cannot do this with a zig-zag method of narration, for the Past is not a zig-zag affair. The historian must go straight on with his story, un-

folding the drama even as it is unfolded to the eyes of men in the passing years.

The central fact of American history is *growth* — territorial growth, industrial growth, political growth. It has been my aim, therefore, to show a growing nation: to picture the successive advances of the wave of American civilization that was always moving toward the West; to trace the development of our commerce and industry from their small and rude beginnings in the seventeenth century to their present grand proportions; to follow the steps taken by the people in their struggles with problems of government until they at last evolved the greatest and best democracy under the sun.

An underlying theme of the text is Americanism. In order to teach the true meaning of America, I have taken great pains to acquaint the pupils with that precious heritage of liberty and democracy which has been derived from three centuries of American experience. Throughout the book the facts of our history have been used as the means for imparting lessons in Americanism. No feature of history teaching can have more value than this, for a lesson in true Americanism is a lesson in good citizenship.

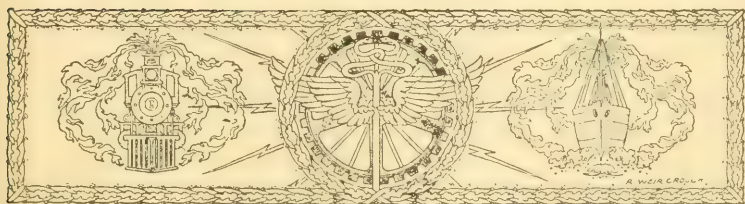
In the preparation of the book the every day needs of pupils and teachers were kept in mind and a faithful effort was made to produce a text that would bring good results in the classroom. At the ends of chapters there are questions framed with the view of eliciting a knowledge of the leading facts of the text. The topics suggested for special reading are, for the most part, designed for illuminating and enriching the text, although many of them deal with subjects not treated in the text and are therefore supplementary in character. For all the great subjects there are outlines for intensive reviews (pp. 493-506). If the pupil is practised in these reviews as he goes along, by the time he has finished the book he will have acquired a considerable amount of related knowledge on all the important topics of American history. A dis-

tinguished teacher of history in one of our universities used to tell the student who was reciting to "take up the subject and run with it." If these reviews are mastered in the beginning and the mastery is maintained as the class advances, pupils will find themselves taking up subjects and running with them.

I have been greatly assisted in my work by the courtesies extended by the officers of the Library of Congress and also by those of the Washington Public Library.

S. E. FORMAN.

Washington, D. C.





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A HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES



The great seal of the United States

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

I

LIFE IN EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The story of our country begins at the time when white men from Europe made their first settlements in our Western World. Since those settlements were made more than four hundred years ago, we ought in this the opening chapter of our history to learn something of Europe as it existed in the fifteenth century, the century in which Europeans first landed on American shores. Let us, then, begin our story by learning what kind of a place Europe was about the year 1500, and thus get a view of the European background of early American history.

The Occupations of the People. Five hundred years ago nearly everybody in Europe was a farmer. All classes, high and low, rich and poor, were tillers of the soil. Even the tradesmen and workmen who lived in the towns tilled small patches of land. And in what a wretched manner the land was tilled! Plows were made of wood, and were drawn by oxen. Grain was cut with a rude semicircular knife called a sickle, and was threshed from the straw by being beaten with a stick called a flail. The chief crops were wheat, rye, barley, and oats. Corn, potatoes, and tobacco were as yet unknown to European farmers. The cultivation of the land required severe toil; yet the yield was small, for the soil was poor and little was done to improve it.

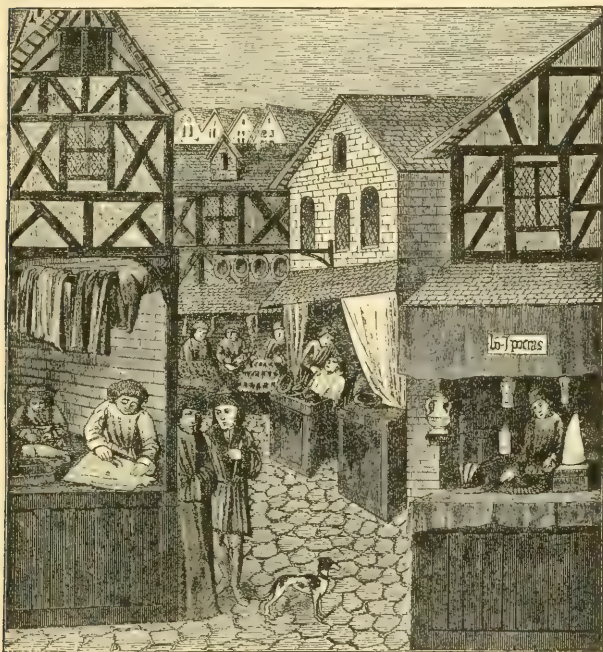
But farming, of course, was not the only occupation. About one tenth of the people lived in towns and cities, and were engaged chiefly in manufacturing—in the weaving of cloth, in the tanning of leather, in the making of shoes, in the forging of iron, in the cutting of stone. A manufacturing establishment

was, in most cases, simply a little shop in which all the work was done by three persons: the master, the owner of the shop; one skilled workman, called a journeyman; and one unskilled workman, called an apprentice. The shop was merely one of the rooms of the dwelling in which the master and his family lived. Manufacturing, therefore, was still in the household stage of development. And it was still in a very rude stage, for almost everything was done by hand. Very few machines had been invented, while the uses of steam and electricity were unknown.

There was buying and selling in the towns, but there were no great stores where goods of different kinds could be bought all the year round. Goods were sold by the very tradesmen who made them. The shoemaker sold the shoes made by his own hands; the weaver the cloth made on his own loom; the tanner the leather tanned in his own yard. Thus every tradesman was both a manufacturer and a merchant.

There was, however, a small class of business men known as merchants. For in almost every large town there was held, at least once a year, a *fair*, which always lasted at least a week and in some cases two or three weeks. At the fair were sold goods brought into the town from outside — from other towns and from foreign countries. Buyers from far and near flocked to the fair to buy articles and luxuries that the tradesmen of the town could not supply. They bought silks and velvets, fine rugs, choice wines, precious stones, spices and drugs from the far-off countries of the Orient, from Persia and India and China and the islands of the far East.

Means of Communication. With the exception of the trade in luxuries, there was but little commerce carried on between different cities and towns or between one country and another. This was because the means of communication were so bad. On land the only means of travel were the roads, and these were so poorly built that they could hardly be called roads at all. Sometimes a road was so bad that it required seven or eight horses to draw one of the clumsy wagons of the time. On some



Street Scene in Europe in the Fifteenth Century

of the highways the holes were so deep that it was impossible for any kind of vehicle to pass, and in wet weather horses often sank up to their knees in mud. And travel was as dangerous as it was difficult, for almost everywhere travelers were in danger of attack by highway robbers. Travel on water was hardly any safer than it was on land, for on every sea there were pirates.

The Lower Classes, the Middle Classes, and the Nobles.

Society was made up of three grades or ranks of people: the lower class, the middle class, and the nobles. More than half of the entire population belonged to the lower class, which consisted of serfs and peasants. A serf was an object of pity, for he was almost a slave. He lived all his life on a little patch of ground belonging to a large estate, and worked for the lord

who owned the estate. He was not allowed to leave the land upon which he was born. If the land was sold he remained on his little patch and worked for the owner. The peasant also worked for some lord, but he was not fixed to the spot where he was born; he could give up his little patch and move to another place. Both peasants and serfs lived miserable lives. Their houses were mere hovels, their clothing was made of the coarsest material, and their food was of the poorest quality.

In the middle class were the professional and business men — lawyers, doctors, priests, merchants, tradesmen. The people of the middle class as a rule lived in the towns, and their life was by no means so hard as the life of the peasants and serfs. For, although in the towns the houses were crowded together and the streets were unpaved and narrow and dirty, the townspeople could nevertheless lead fairly comfortable lives and could enjoy themselves in many ways.

At the top of the social scale were the nobles — the barons, counts, earls, and dukes. These were the landholders. All the land that did not belong to the Church belonged to the nobles. Even the land on which the town was built generally belonged to some noble. The noble usually lived in a castle or in a great farm-house known as the manor-house. This was strongly built and was large and roomy, but as a dwelling-place it was extremely uncomfortable. It was without running water, it had no stoves for heating, and it was lighted by the dim flicker of candles. The nobles spent much of their time in warlike games and in hunting. They were not compelled to work, for their fields were tilled by the peasants and serfs.

Government in Europe in the Fifteenth Century. Many of the nobles took a part in government and assisted the King in his tasks; for almost every nation was ruled by a King. In some of the countries the power of the King was unlimited and he could rule pretty much as he pleased. He could both make the laws and compel the people to obey them. But this was not so in England. There the laws were made by a body called the Parliament. This consisted of two

branches, a House of Lords, the members of which were nobles, and a House of Commons, whose members were elected by landholders and citizens of the towns. In England, therefore, many of the common people had a voice in government. But in the other countries the ordinary persons took no part in the affairs of the nation. In cities and towns, however, the people usually had a voice in their local government.

Religion; Education. In every nation religion was a powerful force in the lives of the people. In western Europe—in England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Austria—all the people were Catholics and the Catholic Church was a rich and mighty organization. At the head of the Church was the Pope, who lived at Rome. The Pope exercised a general supervision over the entire Catholic world. Below the Pope were the bishops. The bishops exercised a general control over all the churches within a certain district called a “diocese.” Bishops were often large land holders, and as such they ranked with the nobles in power. Below the bishops were the priests. A priest had charge of the religious welfare of the people who lived within a certain small district called the “parish” and who worshiped at the parish church.

The priest also had charge of any school that might be in his parish. For education at that time was under the control and direction of the Church. But schools in those old days were few in number. In every country the majority of the people were ignorant. Very often the rich and highly born were unable to read or write. In some parishes the only educated person was the priest.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of farming in Europe in the fifteenth century; of manufacturing; of the system of merchandise; describe a fair.
2. Describe the means of communication that existed in Europe in the fifteenth century.
3. Name the three classes of people and describe each class.
4. Tell what you can about government in Europe in the fifteenth century; about religion; about education.

II

PROGRESS IN EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

In the first chapter we learned some of the leading facts about European life in the fifteenth century. In this chapter, which also deals with the subject of the European background, we shall learn of some events that occurred in Europe just before white men began to come to America, and which had much to do with their coming.

Progress of Civilization in the Fifteenth Century. We have learned that in the fifteenth century the civilization of Europe was simple and crude. But Europeans were not going backward at this time; in truth, they were moving forward at a rapid pace. Among the forward movements of the time was a remarkable advancement in learning.

For centuries the minds of the people of Europe had been asleep. There had been little interest in education or in books, few great inventions had been made, and civilization seemed to be at a standstill. But in the opening years of the fifteenth century the minds and spirits of men became so completely aroused and awakened that it seemed as if the world had been born again. So the period of the awakening was called the "Renaissance," a word meaning "rebirth" or "new birth."

With this Renaissance came more beautiful pictures, more delightful poems, more useful inventions, more comfortable houses. And with it came a love for education and for books such as had never before been known. Men went hungry and wore ragged clothes in order that they might buy books.

In order to meet the demand for more books a wonderful improvement was made in the method of printing. Instead of printing on a solid engraved block containing a whole page

of reading matter, little blocks called *types*, each containing a single letter, were used.

Since the types were movable one set of them could be used again and again for the printing of different books, whereas the engraved blocks could be used for the printing of only one book. Movable types came into use about the year 1450 and by the end of the fifteenth century books were being printed by the thousands.

In the fifteenth century great changes were made in methods of warfare. At the beginning of the century the cannons in use were rude affairs and gunpowder had but little strength. Cannon-balls were made of stone or lead and weighed three



A Cannon of the Fifteenth Century

or four pounds. But the quality of the gunpowder gradually improved and cannons were better made. By the end of the century cannons were hurling balls weighing more than two hundred pounds. By this time also the hand-gun, or musket, had come into use. So men could go forth to war with cannon and muskets, and could move against a foe with a force more deadly and terrible than had ever been known in the wars that had gone before.

There were also improvements in the art of navigation. In the fourteenth century there began to appear on the decks of European vessels the little instrument known as the

mariner's compass. With the aid of the compass a sailor could tell the direction his ship was going even on the darkest night. Soon, also, an instrument called the *astrolabe* came into use. With this a mariner could reckon the latitude of his ship. With compass and astrolabe together, he could tell in which direction his ship was sailing, and could get a fairly good idea of where his ship was, even though it was out on the broad ocean hundreds of miles from land.

In the fifteenth century these two instruments came into general use, and with their appearance sailors became bolder and bolder, and were soon venturing out on the trackless expanse of the ocean.



Routes to the Orient

Blocking the Old Trade Routes. You learned that many of the luxuries sold by the merchants at fairs came from the Orient. At the opening of the fifteenth century the trade in these luxuries had become very brisk and very profitable. Every year thousands of ships went out from Venice and Genoa and other cities, carrying woolen goods, and tin, cop-

per, and other metals to Constantinople and to seaports on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. From the seaports the goods were carried on the backs of camels overland across Asia to Persia and India and even to far-off China. In the Orient the merchants received in exchange for their goods spices, drugs, precious stones, and silks.

About the middle of the fifteenth century the merchants began to suffer at the hands of the Turks. These fierce and barbarous people overran Asia Minor in the fourteenth century, and before the fifteenth century closed they had conquered all the countries bordering on the Black Sea and several of those bordering on the Mediterranean. Wherever the Turks established their power they interfered with the trade of the merchants. They stood in the overland routes that led from the Mediterranean to the Orient and would not allow the merchants to pass. Turks also blocked the water route that led from Alexandria, in Egypt, down the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean to India. So by the end of the fifteenth century peaceful trade between Europe and the Orient by the eastern routes was no longer possible.

This blocking the trade routes was a heavy blow to the people of Europe, for they depended almost entirely upon the Orient for luxuries. Especially were they dependent upon the Orient for their spices—pepper, allspice, cinnamon, and cloves. Europe might endure the loss of the silks and rugs and precious stones of the Orient, but the spices of that far-off country it must have.

Beliefs About the Earth in the Fifteenth Century. Just as soon, therefore, as the old land routes to the Orient were closed, Europeans began an eager search for a new route by water. But the search had to be carried on in the dark; for men at that time, even the wisest of them, knew less about the earth than is known to-day by a little child. As for the size of the earth, we can see how much they knew about that by looking at the map of the world (p. 12) as it was known to Europeans about the year 1400. The map shows only Europe, southern Asia, and a narrow strip of northern Africa.

America does not appear on this map because it is doubtful if Europeans had ever heard of America.

There is a story that a sea-rover named Leif Ericson sailed from Norway to Iceland about the year 1000, and that, steering from Iceland in a southwesterly direction, he explored the



The World as Known to
Europeans in 1400

American coast as far south as Rhode Island, where it is said he made a settlement called Vinland. But we do not know that this story is true, and, even if it is true, it is likely that by the fifteenth century all memory of the voyage of Ericson had faded from men's

minds. So it is quite correct to say that in the early part of the fifteenth century the people of Europe knew nothing at all about America and believed that the earth consisted only of Europe, southern Asia, and a narrow strip of northern Africa.

The shape of the earth was even less well understood than its size. A few thoughtful scholars, who knew more about geography than most men, believed the earth to be a sphere; but in the minds of most people the earth was a great flat body of land around which flowed a mysterious ocean. In the distant parts of this ocean, it was thought, were sea-dragons and other horrid monsters that would swallow up all ships and sailors that dared to come near. So it was out upon a sea of darkness and terror that the sailors of Europe went when they began to seek for a new route to the Orient.

Portuguese Lead in the Search for a Route to the Orient.

In the search for a water route to the Orient, Prince Henry of Portugal took the lead. This remarkable man, known as Henry the Navigator, gave up the gay and fashionable life of a prince in order to study navigation and to make discoveries in unknown parts of the world. His great desire was to reach India by a water route. He began to send out his ships

even before the old trade routes had been blocked, and by 1434 his captains had already sailed down the African coast farther than sailors had ever before ventured. By 1444 his mariners had gone as far south as the Cape Verde Islands. But in 1460 Prince Henry died, and his ships had not yet reached India. Still, he had done a great work, for his sailors had discovered coasts never before known to Europeans.

The plans of Henry the Navigator were carried forward by those who came after him. In 1487 Bartholomew Dias, a Portuguese captain, pushed as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, and, before he turned back, sailed several hundred miles into the Indian Ocean. He would have gone farther had not his crew been afraid of the monsters which they imagined were lying in wait for them in the boundless waters beyond. Ten years after this voyage of Dias, another Portuguese captain, Vasco da Gama, rounded the Cape and, in spite of the imaginary monsters of the deep, sailed on to India. So before the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese sailors had discovered a water route to India and to the other countries of the Orient.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the "Renaissance"? What were some of its results?
2. Give an account of the invention of printing.
3. What improvements were made in the fifteenth century in methods of warfare? In the art of navigation?
4. Of what articles did the trade between Europe and the Orient consist? What caused that trade to be lost?
5. What beliefs did men have in the fifteenth century about the size and shape of the earth? Tell the story of Leif Ericson.
6. Tell the story of Henry the Navigator. Give an account of the voyages of Dias and Vasco da Gama.

READING REFERENCES

1. The Vikings in America: Explorers and Settlers,¹ 3-14.
2. Leif the Lucky: Lane and Hill, 5-7.
3. The Story of the Gun: Forman, 137-146.
4. The Portuguese Explorers: Lawler, 1-13.

¹ The full names of authors and the full titles of the books referred to are found in the reading list (Appendix IV) at the end of the book.

III

COLUMBUS DISCOVERS A NEW WORLD

Spain, as well as Portugal, sent out ships to search for a water route to the Orient. Of all the men who sailed under the Spanish flag, the bravest and boldest was Christopher Columbus. In this chapter, then, let us learn of the deeds of Columbus.

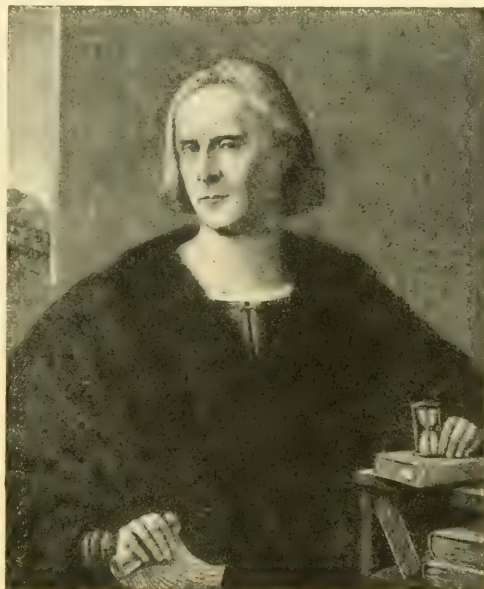
Youth of Christopher Columbus. Christopher Columbus was born in the city of Genoa, Italy, about the year 1446. His father was a poor weaver whose earnings were hardly sufficient to support his family. Christopher, therefore, had to leave school at an early age and begin to earn his own living. At first he worked at his father's trade, but by the time he had reached his twenty-fifth year he was out on the sea, leading the life of a sailor.

Columbus Plans for a Western Voyage to India. During the years when Christopher was growing into manhood great changes were taking place in the world around him. His own city, Genoa, and the other cities of the Mediterranean as well, were losing their trade with the Orient because of the blocking of the overland routes. So, while he was still a young man, he decided that he would try to find a water route to India. About the time the Portuguese sailors were creeping down the African coast, extending their voyages farther and farther to the south, Columbus appeared in Lisbon with a plan for reaching India by a route which he thought would be much shorter than that by the Cape of Good Hope.

It was Columbus's firm belief that the earth was round like a ball, and that India could be reached by sailing directly west. He also thought that the coast of Asia was only about four thousand miles west of the coast of Europe. If these things were so, why, he asked, should not the voyage from Europe

to India be made by sailing directly across the Atlantic? Why go all around the barn and enter at the back door, as the Portuguese were trying to do, when one could go straight across and enter at the front door? As early as 1475 it was so clear to his mind that the western route was the best that he was willing to undertake the voyage.

But such a voyage required ships and men, and these Columbus did not have. He applied to the King of Portugal for aid, but was sent away empty-handed. He applied to Spain, and was again turned away. But Columbus was a man with a strong



Columbus

will, and men with strong wills are not easily turned aside from their purposes. For many long years Columbus, now in Portugal, now in Spain, now in his own city of Genoa, visited the palaces of nobles and kings, seeking aid for the plan that was so dear to him. During these years his feet were often sore with much walking and his heart was often sick with disappointment, but his faith in his plan and his iron will at last brought him success. In 1492 Isabella, the Queen of Spain, furnished him with means to undertake the voyage, pledging her jewels to raise the necessary money.

Columbus Sails Westward Across the Atlantic. One hundred and twenty sailors and three vessels, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*, were secured for the voyage. The



Columbus Setting Out on His Voyage

largest of the ships, the *Santa Maria*, was about sixty feet in length, a mere toy boat compared with the ocean vessels of to-day.

The little fleet set sail from Palos, in Spain, on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus himself commanding the *Santa Maria*. When the Canary Islands had been passed, Columbus steered directly west, and the farther west he sailed, the blacker became the darkness of the voyage and the greater became its terrors. When days and weeks had passed and no land had appeared, the sailors grew impatient and wished to turn back. But Columbus was not one to turn back. He cheered his men, coaxed them, promised them great rewards if they would keep on, and in one way and another managed to hold their faces to the west.

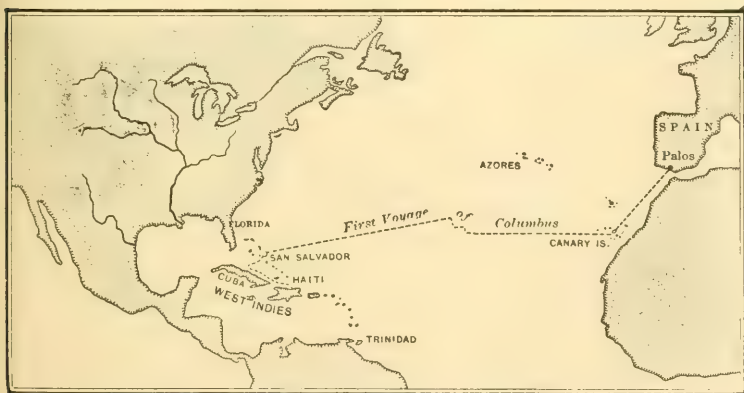
At last, after a voyage of seventy days, the fears of the sailors suddenly left them, and their hearts were filled with joy; for at about midnight between the 11th and 12th of October, 1492, Columbus, peering into the darkness, saw a light ahead; and the light was on land. At sunrise a landing was made on an island called by Columbus San Salvador.

Columbus felt that his labors and sacrifices had not been in vain, for he was sure he had found a new route to India.

Leaving San Salvador, he sailed along the shores of Cuba, Haiti, and other islands, and, as he passed from place to place he thought he was skirting the coast of India. So he named the strange-looking people on the shores *Indians*. After building a rude fort on the island of Haiti, he sailed for Spain.

On the way back a violent storm arose, and, at a moment when it seemed that his boat would sink, Columbus sealed up in a cask an account of the voyage and threw it overboard, in the hope that it would float ashore and be found. But the storm passed, and Columbus reached Palos without having lost a man. Thus a voyage that promised to be the most dangerous turned out to be one of the safest ever made.

Other Voyages of Columbus. No honors were now too great for Columbus. According to an agreement made with Queen Isabella, he was given the title of Great Admiral, and as he passed through Spain from city to city he was treated as if he were a king. There was now no trouble in securing sailors and ships for the western route. The Great Admiral made three more voyages to the new-found land, and on the third voyage he first saw (in 1498) the mainland of the continent. It was the coast of South America, but he thought it was India.



The First Voyage of Columbus

While on his third voyage Columbus was accused by enemies of wrong-doing, and was arrested and sent home in chains. Queen Isabella, always his best friend, ordered him released; but enemies still sprang up on every side and filled his old age with bitterness. He died at Valladolid, in Spain, in 1506, but so obscure and neglected was he when he passed away that no note was taken of his death, and to this day it is not certain where the great man lies buried.

What Columbus Accomplished. Columbus went down to his grave believing that he had found a short route to India; but in this he was, of course, mistaken. In the search for that route, Portugal had won when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed on to India. But Columbus did something far greater than to discover a new route to India, something that he had not set out to do, something he never knew he had done. What he had discovered was not a new water route, but a NEW WORLD.

How the New World Came to be Called America. The ships of Columbus chased the imaginary monsters from the sea, or at least chased them from men's minds. After the successful voyage of 1492, sailors everywhere grew bold and were eager to sail for the new-found lands. Among the first to cross the Atlantic in the wake of Columbus was Americus Vespucius, a native of Florence, Italy. This man, sailing under the flag of Portugal, in 1501, visited the coast of what is now Brazil, and not long afterward wrote an interesting account of what he saw. "I have found," he wrote, "in the southern part, a continent more populous and more full of animals than our Europe, Asia, and Africa."

A letter from Vespucius thus describing Brazil fell into the hands of a German professor who at the time was preparing a book on geography. In this book he suggested that the region described by Vespucius be named the land of Americus (America) in honor of the man who discovered it. And it was named *America*. The professor probably intended that Brazil only should be called America, but the people of

Europe fell into the habit of giving this name to any part of the mainland of the New World. So the name America spread northward and southward, and in time the whole western continent came to be called America. Thus the New World was named after Americus Vespucius, and Columbus missed the glory and honor of having it named after himself.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the early youth of Columbus.
2. Why did Columbus decide to try to find a water route to India? What were his ideas in respect to the size and shape of the earth? By what route did he think India could be reached? Give an account of his efforts to secure ships and men for a westward voyage.
3. Tell the story of the great westward voyage of Columbus.
4. Give an account of the later voyages of Columbus and of his last days.
5. What great thing did Columbus believe he had done? What great thing did he actually do?
6. Explain how the New World came to be called America.

READING REFERENCES

1. Columbus and his Discoveries: Lawler, 14-65.
2. The Voyage of Columbus: Explorers and Settlers, 15-22; 31-33.
3. How Pepper Helped to Discover America: Explorers and Settlers, 35-45.
4. Read in the class Joaquin Miller's poem on Columbus: Lane and Hill, 11.

IV

SPANISH VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS

Europeans in small numbers began to go out to the New World almost as soon as it was discovered. The first to go were Spanish adventurers and explorers, who followed in the wake of Columbus. Who were these adventurers and explorers, and what regions did they explore? What was the result of their explorations?

Balboa Discovers the Pacific Ocean. Among the Spaniards who went out to America soon after it was discovered by Columbus was a soldier of fortune named Balboa. This adventurer was the first European to lay eyes upon the great ocean that washes the western coast of America. In 1513 Balboa, roaming about on the Isthmus of Panama in search of gold, beheld from the top of a mountain a large body of water in the distance. From the direction in which the water lay, he knew that he had discovered an unknown sea. Rejoicing in his good luck, he made his way to the shore, and, wading into the water carrying a banner of Spain in one hand and a sword in the other, took possession of the new sea, claiming it in the name of his King. He might as well have claimed the moon and stars! He called the new sea the South Sea. We know it as the Pacific Ocean.

First Voyage Around the Globe. About twenty years after Vespuccius went to Brazil, a far greater sailor passed along the Brazilian coast. This was Ferdinand Magellan, who, with five ships and two hundred and seventy men, sailed from Spain in 1519, bound for the Molucca Islands, where he intended to load the ships with spices. By this time there was plain sailing to these islands by the route round the Cape of Good Hope, but Magellan bravely resolved to reach them by sailing west. He crossed the Atlantic and sailed along the eastern coast of South America until he came to the



Balboa Takes Possession of the Pacific Ocean

strait that now bears his name. Passing through this stormy Strait of Magellan, he sailed out (in 1520) on a sea whose surface was so quiet and peaceful that he gave it the name of *Pacific*.

When the great captain had passed the Strait of Magellan and his ships had begun to plow the broad waters of the Pacific, the sailors felt that they had gone far enough and wanted to turn back. They had very little food left, and they were afraid that they would get no more on the voyage. But Magellan said they must go forward, even if they had to eat the ropes with which the ship was rigged. He had set out for the Indies, he declared, and to the Indies he was going, though they were ten thousand miles away.

The ships kept on their course, but Magellan found that the fears of the sailors were by no means groundless. Food became scarcer and scarcer, and sure enough, before land was reached, the men, in order to get a little nourishment for



Magellan's Voyage Around the Globe

their starving bodies, gnawed the very hides that covered the ropes of the rigging. After a voyage of terrible suffering, Magellan at last (in 1521) reached the Philippine Islands. Here he was drawn into a battle with the natives and was killed.

After the death of Magellan a captain was chosen for the *Victoria*—one of the two vessels that still remained—and the voyage westward was continued. Having stopped at the Moluccas to take on board a cargo of precious stones and spices, the *Victoria* crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached the little harbor of San Lucar, in Spain, in September, 1522. Of the two hundred and seventy men who had sailed out of that harbor three years before only thirty-one returned. But that little group of half-starved sailors had made a voyage almost as important as the one made by Columbus. They had done what Columbus had tried to do and failed: they had reached the far East by sailing toward the west. And they had done another thing that had never before been done by man: *they had sailed entirely around the globe.*

Spanish Explorers in North America. About the time Magellan was on his voyage around the world, great things were beginning to happen in the New World. In 1519 Hernando Cortés, a dashing Spanish commander, conquered Mexico; and a dozen years later another Spaniard, Francisco Pizarro, overran and plundered the rich and populous

country of Peru. These men were in pursuit of gold, and it would be interesting to follow them and learn how they became masters of great heaps of gold, rooms full of gold, ships laden with gold; but our story takes us in a different direction: we must learn what was happening within the borders of our own country.

The Spaniards, in their search for trade and for gold, looked northward as well as southward. In 1513 Ponce de Leon, a man who had come out with Columbus on his second voyage and who was no longer young, sailed from Porto Rico for a region where he had heard there was not only gold, but something far more precious than gold; he had heard that in this region there was a stream that would give endless youth to those who drank of its waters. While looking for this stream he landed on a coast where the flowers were very beautiful, and he called the country *Florida* — the Land of Flowers. He wandered through Florida, bathing in every stream and drinking from every spring. The old man did not find everlasting youth, of course; but he gave Florida to Spain.

In 1539 another seeker after gold appeared on the coast of Florida. This was Hernando de Soto, the Governor of Cuba and one of the leading men of Spain. De Soto landed at Tampa Bay with an army of six hundred men, and marched northward through the dense woods of Florida. When he reached what is now northern Alabama he turned westward and followed a zigzag course until he found himself (in 1541) on the shores of the *Mississippi* — the Father of Waters. On his march he had lost many of his men, for the Indians along his path regarded him as a cruel enemy and they had done him all the harm they could. On reaching the Mississippi, De Soto fell sick of a fever and died. He was buried in the middle of the great river he had discovered. His followers, without any gold in their hands, made their way back to Cuba.

At the very time De Soto was marching westward toward the Mississippi, in the far-off plains of what is now New Mexico there was another Spaniard tramping eastward. This was Coronado, in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. These



Explorations of Ponce de Leon, De Soto, and Coronado

cities were described to the Spaniards as being the richest and most beautiful in the world; they were said to contain an untold amount of gold and silver; and to be situated in a country where the rivers were six miles wide and where the fishes were as big as horses. It was to find these wonderful cities that Coronado, in 1540, set out from Mexico. In the southern part of what is now New Mexico he found a wretched little Indian village where the houses were built of mud. This is all that was ever seen of the Seven Cities of Cibola. Coronado, however, did not give up the search until he had pushed eastward as far as the plains of what is now the State of Kansas. If he had gone a little farther "he might have shaken hands with De Soto and with him wept tears of disappointment," for Coronado's hands, as well as De Soto's, were empty of gold.

Spanish Claims to the New World; the "Line of Demarcation." Although these adventurers found no gold, they did much to build up the Spanish power in the New World. By virtue of their explorations and conquests, Spain laid claim

to all of North America and to a large part of South America. The part of South America not taken by Spain was claimed by Portugal. For in 1494 Spain and Portugal made a treaty agreeing that a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands should be known as the "Line of Demarcation," and that all "heathen lands" east of that line should belong to Portugal, while all heathen lands west of the line should belong to Spain. Since Brazil was east of the line, it was claimed by Portugal. So at the end of the fifteenth century every foot of the Western World, excepting only Brazil, was claimed by Spain.



The Line of Demarcation

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of Balboa and the discovery of the Pacific.
2. By what routes did Magellan undertake to sail to the Molucca Islands? Give a full account of the great voyage.
3. Tell the story of Cortés and Pizarro; of Ponce de Leon; of De Soto; of Coronado.
4. What part of the New World was claimed by Spain? What was the "Line of Demarcation"?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates:¹ 1492, 1497.
2. Persons:² Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius.
3. Reading References:
 - (1) Spanish Exploration: Lawler, 67-93.
 - (2) Magellan's Voyage: Lawler, 94-144.
 - (3) In Early Mexico: Explorers and Settlers, 111-115.
 - (4) Some Early Voyagers: Explorers and Settlers, 57-63.

¹ Give an important event connected with each date.

² Tell something very important about each person.

ENGLAND BECOMES MISTRESS OF THE SEAS

Thus far we have seen Spain leading in the newly discovered world. It was Spain that sent out Columbus and Magellan; it was a Spaniard who stood in the waters of the Pacific and took possession of the great ocean in the name of his King; they were Spanish generals who conquered the West Indies and Mexico and the greater part of South America; they were Spanish explorers who first made their way into the wild regions of North America. No wonder Spain thought the New World belonged almost entirely to herself. But she could not hold America without a struggle. Other nations of Europe, as we shall now learn, were bound to come forward and dispute her claims.

England Claims a Part of the New World. The country that was to give Spain the most trouble in the New World was England. When the news of the successful voyage of Columbus reached the little island nation, Henry VII, its King, like the other rulers of his time, began to think of the riches that might come to him from the new-found lands. So when John Cabot, a native of Venice, in 1496 applied to King Henry for permission to fit out a ship for a voyage to the New World, the permission was cheerfully given. Cabot set out from Bristol, and "in the year of our Lord 1497 discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning." "That land" may have been Newfoundland or Cape Breton, or it may have been some point on the mainland of North America. The region discovered by Cabot was cold and barren, and was without gold or silver or riches of any kind. Cabot took possession of the country in the name of England, and the thrifty King gave him fifty dollars as a reward.

France Claims a Part of the New World. France also desired a part of the New World. In 1534 the King of France, snapping his fingers at the claims of the King of Spain, or-

dered Jacques Cartier to sail up the St. Lawrence River and take possession of the country along its banks. This Cartier did in 1535, but he made no permanent settlement.

About thirty years after the voyage of Cartier, some Huguenots — French Protestants — made a settlement at the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida. The King of Spain considered that the French had no right to trespass upon Florida. So he sent a great force of ships and men against the French settlement, and it was wiped from the face of the earth. About forty miles down the coast the Spaniards themselves made a settlement (in 1565) and called it St. Augustine — the oldest city built by white men in what is now the United States.

England Strengthens Her Navy. After the voyage of Cabot the English sent no more ships to America for many years. And they had good reason for not sending any. In the early part of the sixteenth century Spain had a very powerful navy and England had a very weak one. If England in the days of Columbus and Henry VII had sent out ships to the New World, Spain would have swept them from the sea; and if the English had tried at that time to make settlements on the coast of America, the Spaniards would have attacked the settlements and destroyed them, as they destroyed the little French settlement in Florida. England wanted to share in the prizes of the New World, but she saw clearly that she could make no headway there unless she had a strong navy. So she made her ships larger and stronger, she manned them with well trained crews, and she armed them with heavy guns. In this way she soon came to have as good a navy as any nation of Europe, and by the end of the sixteenth century many fierce battles had shown that England and not Spain was mistress of the ocean.

Daring Deeds of Sir Francis Drake. Many were the brave seamen who helped to build up the navy of England and beat down the navy of Spain, but the bravest and greatest of all was Sir Francis Drake. The story of the deeds of this mighty man would fill a large book, and all we can do here is to get



The Discoveries of Cabot and Cartier

a glimpse of him as he hurried over the world in pursuit of the Spaniards, sinking their ships, taking from them their gold, and plundering their towns. While yet a young man he was already so famous that once, when he sailed into Plymouth (England) on a Sunday morning at sermon time, the people left the preacher alone in the pulpit while they ran to the wharf to see the man who had dealt Spain such heavy blows.

In 1577 Drake, starting from England, passed through the

Strait of Magellan and sailed along the western coast of South America to Peru, where he plundered some Spanish ships of gold and silver amounting to three millions of dollars. From Peru he sailed northward along the western coast of America until he came to what is now called California, which he called New Albion. From California he sped west to England by the Cape of Good Hope. He had sailed around the world, something no Englishman had ever before done.

Destruction of the "Invincible Armada." But the greatest day in Drake's life was when, in his ship *Revenge*, he led the attack against the Spanish Armada. This was an enormous fleet of 130 vessels and 30,000 men, which Spain had fitted out with the aim of giving a death-blow to England's navy and to England herself. This *Invincible Ar-*

mada, as it was called, met Drake and Hawkins and Howard and the other "sea-dogs" of England in the English Channel in May, 1588. The fighting was furious, but Drake and his companions won. Many of the Spanish ships were destroyed, and those that escaped were soon afterward lost in a terrible storm. The defeat of the Armada was the greatest event in the history of England.

England Undertakes to Plant Colonies in America. Why did the defeat of the Spanish Armada mean so much to England? Because, with the Spanish ships at the bottom of the sea, England could send her navy across the ocean and plant colonies on the coast of America in peace and safety. Indeed, she had begun to make settlements on that coast even before the great battle in the Channel was fought. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert left England with five vessels and a large number of men, with the purpose of planting a colony somewhere in the New World; but one disaster after another overtook the fleet, and in the end Gilbert himself was lost. One night, in a heavy storm, the light on his ship went out, and he and his crew were never heard from more.

The work begun by Gilbert was taken up and carried forward by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. This nobleman was a favorite of Elizabeth, the Queen, who gladly helped him with his plans. In 1585 Raleigh sent out to America about one hundred men under Ralph Lane to plant a colony on the coast of what is now North Carolina. Elizabeth, who never married, suggested that the colony be called *Virginia* in honor of her own maiden life, and Virginia it was called. Lane settled on Roanoke Island; but his colony did not flourish, and, after a year of misfortunes, he and his men were carried back to England by Drake, who happened to stop at the island on one of his homeward voyages.

Raleigh was deeply in earnest about his plans for America, and, in the face of many discouragements, sent out (in 1587) a second colony to Roanoke, with John White as Governor. This time there were women and children as well as men among



The Great Harry, an English Fighting Ship of the Sixteenth Century

the colonists. Governor White soon returned to England to get more colonists and fresh supplies of food. He left behind him a daughter, Eleanor Dare, and a new-born grandchild, Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents on American soil. White never saw his family or his colony again. When he returned three years later, not a soul of all the colonists was found. What became of them nobody knows.

Raleigh could now go no further with his plan of making settlements in the New World, for enemies were crowding around him, and it was all he could do to save his life. At

last he could not even do this; for in 1618, when Elizabeth, his best friend, was dead, he was beheaded on a false charge of treason by order of King James. He died as bravely as a great man ought. As he was about to lay his head on the block, he felt the edge of the ax, and said, with a smile: "This is sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What important voyage and discovery was made by John Cabot?
 2. What parts of the New World were claimed by France?
 3. Why did England in the sixteenth century increase her navy?
 4. Tell the story of Sir Francis Drake and his daring deeds.
 5. Give an account of the destruction of the *Invincible Armada*.
 6. What attempt at colonization was made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert?
- What attempts were made by Sir Walter Raleigh?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1522.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Balboa, Magellan, De Soto.
3. Tell what you can about: The "Line of Demarcation."
4. Reviews of Great Subjects;¹ European Background; Discovery and Exploration; The Claims of Different Nations at Different Times.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Drake's Own Account of His Great Voyage; Hart, 9-11.
 - (2) The Spanish *Armada*: Explorers and Settlers, 68-77.
 - (3) Anecdotes of Raleigh and Gilbert: Explorers and Settlers, 78-83.
 - (4) Sir Walter Raleigh: Eggleston, 14-20.
 - (5) The Lost Colony: Explorers and Settlers, 156-161.
 - (6) Read in the class: Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Lane and Hill, 22-24.

¹ *To the pupil*: At the end of the book (Appendix IV) you will find an outline for these reviews. When a review of a great subject is asked for, it is to be carried forward only as far in the book as you have studied. Master these reviews in the beginning and maintain the mastery of them as you advance. If you will master them to the end you will be richly repaid for your labor.

VI

OUR COUNTRY ABOUT THE YEAR 1600

Raleigh began a work that was to be carried forward. In 1600 the day was not far distant when Englishmen were to come to America in large numbers, and were coming to stay. Let us take a look at the country that was to be first theirs and afterward ours. Let us try to form in our minds a picture of our country as it was three hundred years ago.

The Forests. In the first place, our country in 1600 was one vast forest. From the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico it was trees, trees, trees. It is true that there were here and there little clearings where Indians raised corn, and in the western and south-western country there were treeless regions (prairies) and arid mountains and plains; but, taken as a whole, the country was covered with trees, with great pines and poplars and oaks and walnuts and chestnuts and elms. So if you want a correct idea of how our country looked to the first settlers, shut your eyes upon the cities and towns and well tilled fields and well built roads of to-day, and think of great, dense, dark woods.

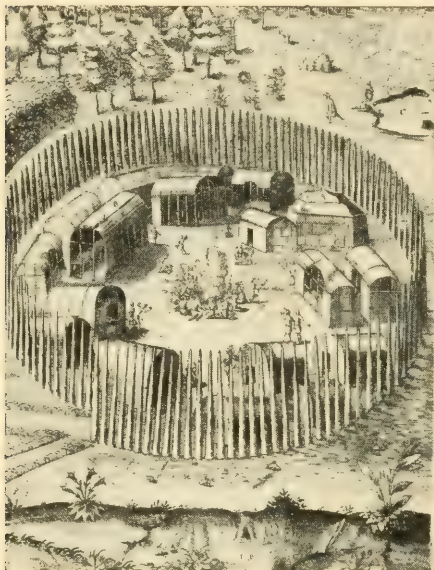
Indian Trails and Rivers of the New World. In the next place, our country in 1600 was without roads. There were paths (trails) made by Indians and buffaloes, but these were so narrow that in the forests not even a horse with a pack of furs on its back could get along. These trails, however, were the beginnings of roads for the white man. They were first widened so that a horse with a pack could travel over them. Then they were widened still further so that wagons and carts could pass over them. Later these trails were followed when building some of our great railroads. So when you are flying across the country in an express train you

may be following a path that was made ages ago by the buffalo and the Indian. But at present, while you are trying to get an idea of how our country looked in 1600, do not think of railroads and well built highways and well paved streets, but try to think of a country that had no roads at all.

The only roads the early settlers found were the water-roads—the rivers. But the system of waterways that lay before the colonists was the finest in the world. Look at a good river map of the United States, and observe how perfect is its network of rivers. Observe how the branches of the Potomac touch fingers with the branches of the Ohio, and how the branches of the Missouri touch fingers with the branches of the Columbia, thus forming an almost unbroken waterway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Observe, too, how the rivers flowing into Lake Erie and Lake Michigan extend almost to the sources of the rivers that empty into the Ohio and Mississippi, thus forming an almost unbroken waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The early colonists had no railroads or broad, well built highways, but the grand system of water-roads that is ours was also theirs.

Fishes, Birds, and Animals of the New World. The United States, then, in 1600 was a vast roadless forest through which flowed hundreds, yes, thousands of rivers. On the surface of the rivers could be seen Indians darting along in their light birch-bark canoes. In the rivers there were many kinds of fish—perch and pike, trout, shad, salmon, and bass. In the forests were many kinds of birds—great eagles, hawks, owls, wild turkeys, and pigeons. The wild turkey was excellent food, and it sometimes weighed as much as fifty pounds. The flocks of pigeons were sometimes so great that they darkened the sky when flying and broke down the limbs of trees when they alighted. In the forests also were wild animals in abundance. In the woods along the Atlantic coast were rabbits, squirrels, foxes, beavers, raccoons, opossum, deer, wolves, bears. Farther inland the animals were even larger and more numerous. It is said that a traveler standing

on a hill in the far West once saw at one time a buffalo, an elk, an antelope, and a panther—a small menagerie in itself. Fur-bearing animals were found almost everywhere, and the farther north the hunter went the better he found



An Indian Village

the furs. The most important of all the animals was the bison, or buffalo, great herds of which roamed over the region between the Alleghanies and the Rockies.

Indians. But the most important inhabitant of the forest was the Indian. You remember how Columbus on his first voyage found red men, and by mistake (p. 17) gave them the name of Indian, a name that has clung to them ever since. The Spaniards found Indians in

South America and Mexico; De Soto found them in Florida; Cartier found them in Canada; and Englishmen found them all along the Atlantic coast. They were not always in great numbers, but they were always present; wherever the white man went, there was the Indian standing across his path.

The Indians of North America were for the most part wild and uncivilized. They lived in huts (wigwams) made of skins or bark stretched over frames of wood. The Iroquois Indians—a tribe occupying the region afterward known as New York—lived in what were known as “long houses.” The “long house” was a long, low house in which lived twenty or thirty families, each family occupying its own apartment.

Government among the Indians was conducted by tribes. A

number of families related by blood would join together to form a clan, and a number of clans would join to form a tribe. The tribe was governed by a chief and a council of wise men.

The religion of the Indian consisted in a worship of the



The Buffalo

world of nature around him. He saw God in the flowing river, in the sunshine and in the storm. His heaven was a happy hunting-ground where, with his dog and his bow and arrow, he could hunt forever.

The Indians lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, although they did a little farming, and raised beans, tobacco, pumpkins, potatoes, and, most important of all, corn. The women did the housework and tilled the soil, while the men did the hunting and fighting.

As a hunter the Indian had wonderful skill and power. He could run almost as fast as a deer, and he could rival the bloodhound in keeping close on the trail of his victim. He could imitate the gobble of the wild turkey, the whistle of birds, or the bark of the wolf. When he advanced upon his prey, it was with a tread as quiet and as soft as that of a cat advancing upon a bird; but when he sprang upon his victim, it was with the strength and the wildness of a panther.

In war the Indian was the most terrible of foes. As long as



Games of the Indian Youths

he smoked the pipe of peace he was gentle and kind; but when the peace-pipe was broken and his war blood was stirred he was as wild and cruel as the beasts in the forests around him. Indeed, he was more cruel than these beasts; for the brute is satisfied if it simply kills its enemy, but the Indian felt that he must torture his enemy as well as kill him. He would carve a captive alive or slowly burn him to death, and dance for joy as he beheld the agonies of his dying foe. Such was the red man whom the white man had to face wherever he went in the new-found world.

The New World a Place for Labor; Hardships. You ought now to see clearly that our country in 1600 was a place in which a great deal of hard work was to be done. If the land was to be made fit for tillage, the vast forests would have to be cleared, and the settler's ax must swing from morning to night all the year round. Besides, roads must be opened, dwellings must be erected, and mills and stores and workshops must be built. It ought to be clear also that life

in our country in 1600 meant hardships and much suffering. There could be no comfort as long as there were no houses or roads, and until the fields began to yield their crops there was always the risk of not having enough food to eat. Then there were the enemies of the forest, panthers, bears, wolves, Indians: these were bound to fill the life of the settler with danger. America in 1600 was, therefore, no place for idlers, or for those who loved their ease, or for cowards. It was for those who were willing to work hard and to face all kinds of hardships and danger. It was a place to be won by those who could use an ax and spade and plow as well as the rifle and sword.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. To what extent was our country originally a forest?
2. Give an account of the Indian trails; of the rivers.
3. What fishes, birds, and animals were plentiful in America three hundred years ago?
4. How did it happen that the red men of America were called Indians? To what extent did Indians abound in the New World? Describe the houses of the Indians; their government; their religion; their occupations; their hunting; their warfare.
5. Why was the New World no place for idlers or cowards?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1522, 1588.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, Cabot, Drake, Raleigh.
3. Tell what you can about: the "Line of Demarcation"; the *Invincible Armada*.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Claims of Different Nations at Different Times; Indians and Indian Wars; English Colonization.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Indian Life: Hart, 23-26.
 - (2) How the Indians Lived: Eggleston, 69-78.
 - (3) How the Indian Children Played: Explorers and Settlers, 116-121.
 - (4) The Character and Customs of the Indians: Parkman, 460-472.
 - (5) Read in the class: Hiawatha: Lane and Hill, 48-50.

VII

AROUND THE CHESAPEAKE BAY

Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, and England all wanted a share of the great American wilderness, and all joined in a scramble to get possession of the Atlantic coast of North America. Early in the seventeenth century three of these nations, England, France, and Holland, almost at the same moment sprang forward to secure a permanent foothold on the American coast. Since in this race for empire England led the way, let us first learn of the coming of the English.

English Background of American Colonization. There were several reasons why England at the opening of the seventeenth century was eager to plant colonies in America. In the first place, at that time there were a great many poor people in England who were out of employment and who were forced to live in idleness and to beg for a living. These were only too willing to go to America. Again, there were many rich men in England who had money to invest in new enterprises, and these were only too willing to furnish the money that was necessary to fit out a body of colonists with supplies and transport them across the seas. Then, too, it was the hope of England that by planting colonies she would be able to increase her trade. English-manufactured goods, it was thought, could be sold in the colonies for raw material, such as lumber, iron ore, and copper. So, when the seventeenth century opened, conditions in England were more favorable to schemes of colonization than they had been at any previous time.

English Settlements Along the Atlantic Coast. In their plans for extending trade and planting colonies Englishmen were ready to carry their flag to the most distant parts of the earth. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the

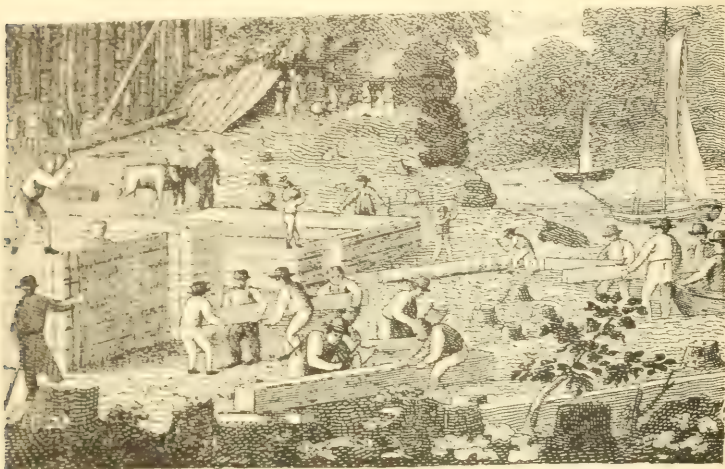
East India Company and thus laid the foundation of English power in the far East. A few years later Englishmen renewed their attempts to plant colonies along the Atlantic coast, and at last met with success.

The early English settlements were made close to the ocean. Of the thirteen colonies that became States, each had its beginning on some bay or river or sound where there was a good chance for trading in furs; for you are to learn that furs have played an important part in the history of our country. New Hampshire had its beginnings on the Piscataqua River; Massachusetts, around the Massachusetts Bay; Rhode Island, around Narragansett Bay; Connecticut, along the Connecticut River; New York and New Jersey, around New York Bay; Delaware and Pennsylvania, around the Delaware Bay; Maryland and Virginia, around the Chesapeake Bay; North Carolina, on the Albemarle Sound; South Carolina at the mouth of the Ashley River; and Georgia, at the mouth of the Savannah River.

First English Settlement in America. The first English settlement in America was made around what was called "the finest bay in the world." In 1607 about a hundred colonists from London settled on an island a few miles from the mouth of a river that flows into the Chesapeake Bay. This settlement was called Jamestown, in honor of James I, King of England, and the river was called James River. The Jamestown colonists were sent out by a company of London merchants who had obtained from the King a charter giving them the right to make settlements on the American coast anywhere between Cape Fear and the Potomac River, a region that was already known as Virginia.

As soon as the Virginia colonists landed they began to prepare for the new and strange kind of life that was before them. They at once built a rude fort in order that they might defend themselves against attack by the Indians who were lurking in the woods around them. They provided themselves with a church by nailing a board between two trees for a pulpit and stretching a piece of canvas overhead for a roof.

For dwellings they either built log cabins or dug themselves caves. They raised chickens, and where they found a little patch of clear ground they planted corn.



The Building of Jamestown

Captain John Smith. The colonists at first did not know how to live in the strange New World, and they could learn how to do so only by experience, and a sad experience it was. Suffering and starvation overtook them, and it seemed that the little settlement would be lost. But it was saved by the wisdom and firmness of Captain John Smith, who, by the consent of all, was chosen to direct the affairs of the colony.

Smith was a man of bold and venturesome spirit and was at the same time a man of excellent sense and judgment. While at the head of the colony he managed its affairs wisely. Many of the colonists were gentlemen who were not accustomed to work, and many were worthless fellows who were too lazy to work. Smith saw clearly that the New World was no place for drones or idlers, and told the colonists plainly that everybody must work and that anybody who did not work should not eat. That had an excellent effect. Fine gentlemen began to chop wood, and idlers began digging the ground. Be-

sides teaching the colonists to work, Smith did much to keep peace between the white men and the Indians. He visited the Indians in their wigwams and traded with them, giving them beads and trinkets and knives for the corn that was so much needed.

In 1609 Smith met with an accident, and was so severely wounded that he had to return to England for treatment. He took with him some flying-squirrels for the amusement of King James. The colony lost its best friend when it lost Smith, and it soon felt this loss most keenly.

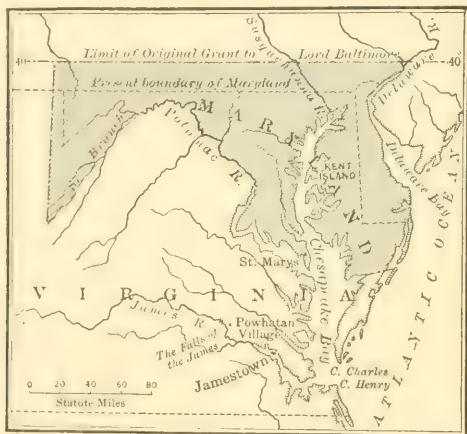
The Starving Time; Arrival of Delawarr. In less than a year after the departure of Smith the people were again starving. This time the suffering was so very horrible that you would not wish to read a description of it. Things became so bad that the few settlers who were still alive decided to return to England. With heavy hearts they bade farewell to Jamestown and started on their homeward voyage; but as they neared the sea they met Lord Delawarr, their new Governor, coming to the relief of the colony with three ships laden with provisions. The colonists returned to their deserted homes, and the settlement was never again abandoned. With the founding of Jamestown the English had come to America to stay.

Cultivation of Tobacco. Lord Delawarr soon resigned as Governor, and Sir Thomas Dale was chosen in his stead. Under the firm hand of Dale, Jamestown took on new life. The settlers were given land of their own to till, and after each man began to till his own field there was always plenty of food. In 1612 John Rolfe, who married the Indian maiden Pocahontas, began to raise tobacco and send it to England, where it brought a very high price. The cultivation of this weed proved to be so profitable that nearly every colonist became a tobacco-grower. Even the gardens and streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco.

First American Legislature. When it was learned in England that money could be made in Virginia by raising tobacco, settlers came over in greater numbers, and new settlements

sprang up along the James River. By 1619 there were so many people in the colony that it was necessary to have a new form of government. In this year the people chose representatives to meet in the church at Jamestown and make laws for the colony. This House of Burgesses, as it was called, was the first American legislature.

In choosing men to represent them in the House of Burgesses the Virginia planters took the first step in establishing representative government in America, and at the same time began to learn a most important lesson in Americanism. For



Jamestown and Vicinity

Americans have always been accustomed to manage public affairs through the action of their chosen representatives. In colonial times the people elected representatives to do the work of government, and by the time we became a nation it seemed that a natural way of conducting political affairs was to have a representative government. Americans, therefore, love representative government; for, with Thomas Jefferson, they believe that it "produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind."

Beginning of Slavery in Virginia. When choosing representatives for the House of Burgesses every freeman had a

vote. Unfortunately, however, all men in Virginia were not to be free; for, in the very year in which free government was established in the colony, twenty negroes were brought to Jamestown in a Dutch vessel and sold into servitude. Nobody thought there was any harm in this, for at that time negroes all over the world were bought and sold very much as horses were bought and sold. The negroes proved to be just the kind of workmen needed for the tobacco-fields, and in time slave labor was regularly employed on the Virginia plantations.

The little colony at Jamestown was now (1619) fairly firm on its feet. It was growing in population and wealth, and it was making laws for governing its own people. The Virginians could well be proud of the colony for which they had labored so hard and suffered so much; for Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in the New World, and it was the beginning of the United States.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did England wish to plant colonies in America?
2. Tell the story of the settlement of Jamestown.
3. Give an account of the services of Captain John Smith.
4. Why did the colonists decide to return to England? What caused them to remain at Jamestown?
5. Give an account of the beginning of tobacco-growing in Virginia.
6. When and where did the first law-making body meet? What lesson in Americanism was learned in the Virginia colony?
7. Give an account of the beginning of slavery in Virginia.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1522, 1588.
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, Cabot, Drake, Raleigh.
3. Tell what you can about: The "Line of Demarcation"; the *Invincible Armada*.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: European Background; English Colonization; Discovery and Exploration; Indians and Indian Wars.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The English Poor: McLaughlin, 5-6.
 - (2) Jamestown: Eggleston, 26-32; Explorers and Settlers, 145-155.

VIII

ALONG THE ST. LAWRENCE AND AROUND NEW YORK BAY

The English had hardly begun their settlement around the Chesapeake Bay before the French began to settle on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Dutch around New York Bay. So we must now learn of the coming of the French and of the Dutch.

Along the St. Lawrence River: Quebec. While England was gaining control of the Atlantic coast, France was establishing her power along the St. Lawrence River. We have seen (p. 27) that Cartier at a very early date visited the St. Lawrence region and claimed it for France. But Cartier made no permanent settlement. The real founder of what is now called Canada was Samuel de Champlain. In 1608 — only a year after the settlement of Jamestown — Champlain planted the French flag on the rock of Quebec and began in earnest the work of extending the French power in the New World. From Quebec as their base the French pushed their explorations in almost every direction. By 1615 Champlain had made his way in person as far as the shores of Lake Huron, and before he died (in 1635) the French power had been established in the far-off wilds of Michigan and Wisconsin.

But the French did not lay the foundations of their power in America deeply and strongly, as did the English. They did not bring their families with them; they cleared off but few forests; they tilled but few fields; they built no large towns. Their purpose in America was to accomplish three things: (1) to add to the glory of France by causing her flag to wave over new places; (2) to convert the Indians to the Christian religion; (3) to carry on a profitable trade in furs. For manufacturing and farming they cared very little. When

they built a fort the Indians were given to understand that no trees would be cut down and that no fields would be planted. This was good for the Indians, for it left them their hunting-grounds; but it was bad for the French, for it made it impossible for them to carry on the occupation of farming, the very occupation that was necessary for a healthy and steady growth. Without extensive farming large numbers of people in the New World could not be fed and large communities could not be built up. All the French settlements were small places. Even Quebec, the oldest and largest town, a hundred years after it was founded was a mere village.

Champlain and the Iroquois Indians.

As a rule the French treated the Indians well and lived on

friendly terms with them. But between the French and the Iroquois Indians (p. 34) there arose a deadly and lasting enmity. This was caused by a skirmish that took place between Champlain and the Iroquois near what is now called Ticonderoga. In this skirmish Champlain blazed away with his gun, and two poor savages dropped dead. This frightened the others so badly that they took to their heels.



Early Settlements in New York and New Jersey

Champlain won the victory, but it was a costly one; for after that battle on the shore of Lake Champlain the Iroquois became the bitter enemies of the French, and did them all the harm they could. They prevented the French from extending their power southward into what is now the State of New York and thus deprived them of a large stretch of beautiful country and cut them off from a very profitable trade in furs.

Hudson's Voyage up the Hudson River. Almost at the very moment that Champlain was in the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, fighting with the Iroquois and making enemies of them, Henry Hudson, an English navigator in the service of the Dutch, was a few miles away trading with the Iroquois, entertaining them in royal fashion and thus making friends of them. In 1609 Hudson entered New York Bay in his ship, the *Half Moon*, and sailed up the magnificent river that bears his name.

Hudson, like Columbus and many others, believed that there was a short western route to India, and he thought that by following the course of the Hudson River he would be able to reach the Pacific Ocean. He went up the river to the point where the city of Troy now stands, and there his boat ran aground. He failed, of course, to reach the Pacific by way of the Hudson, but his voyage up the river was one of great importance. For on that voyage he traded with the Indians and secured a good load of furs; and, what was more important, he secured the friendship and good will of the red men.

New Netherland. Another important result of Hudson's voyage was to cause Holland to begin settlements around New York Bay and along the Hudson River. Hudson told the people of Holland that this region was as fair a land as ever was trod by the foot of man, and he told them also of the great opportunity there was in the region for trading in furs. The Dutch were a great commercial people, and they made haste to establish fur-trading stations along the Hudson. In 1613 they began to build huts on Manhattan Island for the storage of furs. The next year a trading station was

built far up the Hudson, near the point where Albany now is, and this fur-trading station was the beginning of that cluster of busy cities and towns that stand close to where the Mohawk flows into the Hudson — Albany, Cohoes, Troy, Schenectady.

In 1623 the Dutch sent out colonists to make a permanent settlement in the region visited by Hudson. The name of



New Amsterdam Between 1630 and 1640

From a Dutch book. Thought to be the oldest picture of what is now New York

this colony was New Netherland. The Dutch claimed for New Netherland all the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware, and they made settlements at several different places on both these rivers.

The Patroons. The Dutch people were glad to carry on trade in New Netherland, but they did not care to go there to live. They were happy in their peaceful homes in Holland. The great forests and the wild Indians of America had few charms for them. In order to attract settlers, the trading company that owned New Netherland established the *patroon* system. It provided that any member of the company who would bring over fifty settlers should have an immense estate

on the banks of the Hudson. The patroon (owner) was to be the lord of the estate and the ruler of the people on it. Under the patroon system the people had no voice whatever in matters of government. The patroon was a petty king, and the people on his estate were little better than slaves.

New Amsterdam. In 1626 a great trading company in Amsterdam, Holland, sent out Peter Minuit to act as Governor of a settlement to be made on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson. Minuit bought the island from the Indians for twenty-four dollars' worth of beads and ribbons. He at once built a fort and began the work of settlement. The place was called New Amsterdam. Since it had one of the finest harbors in the world and was an excellent trading station, New Amsterdam drew merchants from all parts of Europe, and very soon became one of the busiest towns on the American coast. Thus New Amsterdam was the most important place in New Netherland, and was the center of Dutch life in America.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the founding of Quebec. What did the French colonists wish to do? Why did the French colonies grow so slowly in population?
2. Describe Champlain's skirmish with the Iroquois. What was the result of this conflict?
3. Tell the story of Hudson's voyage up the Hudson River.
4. Give an account of the settlement of New Netherland.
5. Describe the patroon system.
6. Give the early history of New Amsterdam.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1522, 1588, 1607.
2. Persons: John Smith, Drake, Henry the Navigator.
3. Tell what you can about the *Invincible Armada*.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Discovery and Exploration; The French in North America; The Claims of Different Nations at Different Times; Indians and Indian Wars.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Founding of Quebec: Parkman, 88-95.
 - (2) Champlain and the Iroquois: Parkman, 96-106.
 - (3) The Coming of the Dutch: Eggleston, 47-52.
 - (4) Old Dutch Times in New York: Explorers and Settlers, 171-184.

IX

AROUND MASSACHUSETTS BAY AND ALONG THE PISCATAQUA RIVER

The Dutch claimed all the Atlantic coast from Cape Cod to the Delaware River; but England also claimed this part of the coast. Even before the fort at New Amsterdam was finished, Englishmen were planting colonies in New England on land claimed by the Dutch. We shall now have an account of three of these New England colonies — Plymouth, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

The Pilgrims in England and Holland. Just about the time Henry Hudson, with his crew of Dutchmen, was sailing (in 1609) up the Hudson River in the *Half Moon*, a little band of Englishmen from the village of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, was slowly making its way in a canal-boat to the city of Leyden, Holland.

These pilgrims in a foreign land had left their pleasant homes because they wanted to worship God in their own way, and in England they were not allowed to do this. They wanted the privilege of choosing their own pastor and of conducting the services of their church in a plain, simple manner. They had asked the King (James I) to grant them freedom in matters of worship, but the King told them that they would have to attend the Church of England and would have to obey the rules of that church, and he gave them to understand that if they disobeyed these rules he would drive them out of his kingdom. It was not necessary to drive them out, for they left England of their own free will.

The Pilgrims — as this roving body of church folk is called — settled in Leyden, where they could worship as they wished, and for a little while they led a happy, contented life. But as years passed they found that they were ceasing to be Englishmen and were becoming Dutchmen. They were learning to follow Dutch customs; their children were speaking the



The Pilgrims Coming Ashore at Plymouth

Dutch language; and their daughters were marrying Dutchmen and were being called by the Dutch names of their husbands. It was plain that if they remained in Holland they would become Dutch in all things. But they still loved England, and their thoughts began to turn to the wilds of America as a place where they might enjoy religious freedom and where they might live and die as Englishmen. About 1617 they began to make plans for leaving Holland, and in July, 1620, they bade the country farewell and set out for America.

Plymouth Colony. They stopped on the way at Southampton, in England, where they prepared more fully for the long voyage that was before them. On September 16 they embarked on the *Mayflower* and spread sail for America. On board were about a hundred souls. The leaders of the band were William Brewster, the preacher; William Bradford, the ruler; and Miles Standish, the soldier. After a voyage of nine weeks the low, sandy shores of Cape Cod came in sight, and on the 12th of November the *Mayflower* entered what is now Provincetown harbor. But this was not a suitable place

for a settlement, and men were sent out in a light boat, or shallop, to look for a better place. A spot where the town of Plymouth, Massachusetts, now stands was chosen, and here, on the 21st of December, 1620, the Pilgrims from the *Mayflower* went ashore and began to lay the foundation of the Plymouth Colony and of *New England*.

The Pilgrims, while on board the *Mayflower*, entered into a "compact" or agreement by which every person solemnly agreed to obey the laws that should be made when on shore. The first government was in the form of a town-meeting, where every freeman had a vote and where all the public business was attended to. Soon new settlements were made and new towns were formed. The outlying towns sent men to represent them in a General Court that met at Plymouth. Thus the colonists of Plymouth, like those of Virginia, established a representative government.

Massachusetts Bay Colony. The colony at Plymouth had no sooner begun to prosper than a sister colony began to arise not many miles away on the bay shore at the north. This was the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which had its beginnings at Salem in 1628. In that year John Endicott received from the English government a grant of land extending from a line three miles south of the Charles River to one three miles north of the Merrimac River. In the westerly direction the grant disregarded the claims of the Dutch and extended straight across the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. In 1628-29 several hundred colonists settled at Salem, with Endicott as their Governor.

In 1629 John Winthrop was chosen Governor of the colony. Winthrop was one of the strongest characters of early colonial history and is justly regarded as the founder of New England. He was deeply religious, and his conscience held him firmly in the path of duty. He was extremely fond of shooting wild fowl; but when it came into his mind that this sport was sinful, he "covenanted with the Lord" to shoot no more. He could doubtless have won distinction and honor

in England, but his religion and his conscience bade him cast his lot with the Massachusetts colonists.

Winthrop came to America in 1630, and under his leadership Englishmen began to come over to Massachusetts more rapidly than ever before. In ten years twenty thousand home seekers sailed into the harbors of Massachusetts Bay. Towns sprang up as if by magic. Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Watertown, Roxbury, Mystic, and Lynn were all founded within two years after the coming of Winthrop.

Who were these Englishmen who came over in such great numbers, and why did they leave their native land? They were the Puritans, a class of people who were members of the Church of England, but who did not like the way in which the services of that church were conducted. They objected to many of the forms and ceremonies of the Church, and they also longed for greater freedom in religious matters. They desired a plain, simple form of worship and a pure doctrine, and because they wished to reform the Church and purify it they were called Puritans. In matters of religion they were in many respects like the Pilgrims; but the Puritans wished to remain within the Church of England and bring about the desired reforms, whereas the Pilgrims believed in separating themselves entirely from the Church.

English Conditions at the Time of the Puritan Emigration.

At the time Winthrop came to America, the King, Charles I, was acting in a manner that was very displeasing to his subjects. In the first place, he was taxing the people in a way they did not like. Englishmen felt that they ought to pay only such taxes as their representatives in Parliament should agree upon, while the King was compelling his subjects to pay taxes that Parliament had not ordered to be paid. Moreover, Charles I, like his father (James I) before him, was trying to make everybody attend the Church of England. The Puritans were especially disliked by the King, and many of them suffered at his hands. Some of them were shut up in prison on account of their religious convictions. It was

because the Puritans grew tired of this treatment that many of them sought refuge in the forests of New England.

Government in the Puritan Colony.

The Puritans developed a form of government like the one that had been developed at Plymouth. Each town had its own town-meeting, at which the freemen, in a body, attended to local affairs. For the government of the whole colony there was a General Court that met at Boston. This court, like the General

Court of the Plymouth Colony, was composed of representatives of the towns. When making laws the General Court was not supposed to go contrary to the laws of England; but, as a matter of fact, in the early days it paid very little attention to the laws of the mother country. At the time the Puritans in America were building up their government, the Puritans in England were giving the King so much trouble that he had no time to look after his colony abroad; so the General Court was free to act in the way it thought best.

Colony of New Hampshire. While the Puritans were building up the colony of Massachusetts Bay, fishermen on the Piscataqua River were making settlements that were the beginnings of the Colony of New Hampshire. Fishing was a very important occupation in the early days of New England.



Settlements Around Massachusetts Bay

and fishing stations existed along the New England coast, especially along the coast of Maine, even before the coming of the Pilgrims.

The first settlement of the New Hampshire Colony was made at Dover in 1623, under a charter held by John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. These two men were made proprietors of nearly all the land that is now included in the three States of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. In 1629 they divided their territory, Gorges taking Maine for his share and Mason taking New Hampshire. Both Maine and New Hampshire were at times claimed and held by Massachusetts. In 1691 New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts and was made a colony with a government of its own, although even after 1691 the two colonies sometimes had the same Governor. In the same year Maine was given to Massachusetts and was known as the District of Maine.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the Pilgrims in England and Holland.
2. Give an account of the voyage of the *Mayflower* and of the settlement at Plymouth. Describe the system of government established at Plymouth.
3. Give an account of the beginnings of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Who were the Puritans? In what respect did they differ from the Pilgrims? Why did the Puritans leave England? What system of government was established by the Puritans?
4. What was the early history of New Hampshire? Of Maine?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1522, 1607.
 2. Persons: John Smith, Champlain, Henry Hudson.
 3. Tell what you can about: The Patroons.
 4. Reviews of Great Subjects: English Colonization; Government.
 5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Pilgrims in England: McLaughlin, 12-18; Explorers and Settlers, 127-132.
 - (2) How the Pilgrims came to Plymouth; Explorers and Settlers, 189-205.
 - (3) Miles Standish and the Indians; Explorers and Settlers, 210-219.
- tlement at Plymouth. Describe the sytem of government established

X

ALONG THE CONNECTICUT RIVER AND AROUND THE NARRAGANSETT BAY

Between 1630 and 1640 the Puritans came over in such numbers that all the best places along the coast of Massachusetts Bay were soon occupied. Many of the settlers of Massachusetts pushed out into the wilderness, where there was plenty of room and plenty of good land. As a result, within a very few years several new colonies were formed. What was the early history of these offshoots of Massachusetts?

Connecticut. The first place to attract the attention of those who wished to leave the older settlements and make their homes in the wilderness was the valley of the Connecticut River. This river flowed through a charming and fertile region; on its shores were plenty of otters and beavers; in the stream were the finest kinds of fish. The Connecticut valley, therefore, was a good place for farming, for fur-trading, and for fishing, the three occupations upon which American colonists everywhere relied for a living.

In 1636 Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown (now Cambridge), moved with his entire congregation to the banks of the Connecticut and founded the city of Hartford. Hooker did not like the way the Puritans acted in matters of government. He thought religious affairs and government affairs in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were bound too closely together. He thought also that more people ought to be allowed to vote than were allowed that privilege in the Puritan colony. Besides, was not the rich valley of the Connecticut a better place for homes than the rocky and barren hills around Boston? Hooker and his followers took their wives and children with them. They carried their household goods and drove their cattle before them. As they moved overland



Hooker on His Way to Connecticut

through the roadless forests of Massachusetts, they took the first step in the great western movement which continued for more than two hundred years, and which did not come to an end until the far-off Pacific was reached.

Trouble With the Indians; the Pequot War. The Connecticut settlers soon began to have trouble with the Indians. The poor savages felt that the white men were driving them from their hunting-grounds. The colonists, it is true, always bought their lands from the Indians; but when an Indian sold a piece of land he felt that he still had the right to hunt upon it, while the white man, when he bought a piece of land, felt that he had a right to put a fence around it and keep the Indians off. So when the Indians saw that they were losing their hunting-grounds they began to regard the Englishmen as their enemies.

The Indians who gave the most trouble were the Pequots. Warriors of this tribe would lurk around the settlements, and when they found a white man working alone in a field or hunting alone in the woods, would pounce on him and kill him. Sometimes at night they would attack a family, killing the

men and carrying the women and children away to slavery. The settlers endured this as long as they could, and then they put an end to it. In 1637 ninety Connecticut colonists attacked the Pequot stronghold at the mouth of the Mystic River, and the tribe was destroyed.

First Written Constitution. With the Indians out of the way, the settlers along the Connecticut could give attention to affairs of peace.

It quickly became necessary to have a government for the towns that were springing up, and in 1639 the freemen of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford met at Hartford and drew up a plan by which the young colony should be governed.



Connecticut and Rhode Island

The plan provided for a government almost precisely like that which the settlers had left behind them in Massachusetts (p. 53). So far as its form is concerned, there was nothing remarkable about the government set up by the Connecticut colonists. Yet the plan which the freemen of these three little towns drew up was nevertheless a most remarkable one, for it was the *first written constitution*. Never before in the history of the world had the people who were to be governed planned their own government and at the same time written out the plan in plain black and white.

New Haven. While the settlers of the river towns were planning for the government of the Connecticut Colony, a new colony was forming on the north shore of Long Island Sound. In 1638 a company of Puritans, led by John Davenport, a preacher, and Theophilus Eaton, a merchant, settled at New Haven. Davenport and his followers believed that men ought

to be governed by the words of the Bible, and they planned for a government under which rulers should look to the Holy Book for guidance. So they set up a "Bible Commonwealth," in which only church members could have a voice, and they made it very difficult for any one to become a church member. But the Bible Commonwealth did not have a very long life. In 1662 Charles II gave out a charter that united New Haven to the Connecticut Colony.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. While Hooker was planting his colony on the banks of the Connecticut River, another offshoot of Massachusetts was taking root along the shores of Narragansett Bay. In 1636 Roger Williams, a young preacher who had been driven from Massachusetts on account of his religious ideas, made his way to the spot where the city of Providence now stands, and began a settlement that was the beginning of the colony of Rhode Island.

Providence 25 March 1671

*Y^r Friend & Servant
Roger Williams*

Autograph of Roger Williams

Williams desired that his settlement should be a shelter for all who, like himself, were persecuted on account of religious belief. He and the Puritans had quarreled because the Massachusetts leaders wanted the Church to rule in all things, both in spiritual and in worldly affairs. In his Rhode Island settlement Williams intended that the State should be independent of the Church and that the Church should be independent of the State.

Williams found followers and his colony grew. Among those who sought the religious freedom that was to be found only in the Rhode Island Colony were Mrs. Anne Hutchin-

son and her followers. This gifted and earnest woman had been banished from Massachusetts for preaching new religious doctrines. She settled (in 1638) with her colonists in Rhode Island, and founded the towns of Pocasset (Portsmouth) and Newport. Her settlement, however, was separate and distinct from the one made by Williams. In 1663 the Rhode Island settlements were brought together and united into a single colony with the name of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." The charter that brought about this union was quite like the charter which, a year before, Charles II gave to the Connecticut Colony. It gave the people of Rhode Island the right to elect their own officers and make their own laws.

The New England Confederation. In 1643 four colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, New Haven, and Connecticut, entered into a union known as the New England Confederation. Rhode Island did not join this union, because the other colonies did not care to unite with her. New Hampshire at the time was a part of Massachusetts. The purpose of the union was to protect the colonies against the French on the St. Lawrence, against the Dutch on the Hudson, and against the Indians everywhere. Each colony was represented by two commissioners. The union fulfilled the purpose for which it was formed, and was dissolved in 1684. It lasted long enough to show the colonies the great benefit of union, and the lesson it taught was never forgotten.

New England Democracy a Lesson in Americanism. Besides teaching a most useful lesson in union, the early New England settlers taught America another important lesson in government. In their town-meetings, where every person who attended church had a voice, they undertook to govern themselves, and succeeded in the undertaking. The town-meeting, therefore, was a democracy: for democracy means *successful* self-government; it means a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. So we may say that the New England settlers gave America its first lesson in democracy. And a precious gift the lesson was! For, of all the blessings of

Americanism, the greatest is the right of governing ourselves. When the people rule themselves, government will be conducted in the interest not of a favored class but in the interest of the whole country.

Democracy, too, is good not only for the nation at large, but for the individual citizen as well. When people take a part in government their wits are sharpened, their sympathies broaden and go out to other persons, and their interest in life and in the affairs of the world is keen and alert. Democracy thus enriches and ennobles the character of citizens. And it makes the people more patriotic. Citizens of a democracy love their government and are ready to defend it, for it is something they have made with their own hands. So we owe to the New England settlers a debt of gratitude for teaching America its first lesson in the greatest of all subjects of government — democracy.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What attractions did the Connecticut valley have for colonists? Why did Hooker leave Massachusetts? Give an account of the settlement of Hartford.
2. What were the grievances of the Indians? Give an account of the Pequot War.
3. Give an account of the first written constitution.
4. When and by whom was New Haven settled? Why was New Haven called the "Bible Commonwealth"?
5. Who was Roger Williams? What were his purposes in founding a new colony? Who was Anne Hutchinson? Give an account of the early settlement of Rhode Island.
6. Describe the New England Confederation.
7. What lesson in government did the New England settlers teach? Why is democracy a precious gift?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1607, 1620.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, John Smith, Champlain, Henry Hudson, John Winthrop.
3. Reviews of Great Subjects: European Background; English Colonization; Indians and Indian Wars.
4. Reading References:
 - (1) The Foundation of Rhode Island: Hart, 52-54.
 - (2) The New England Town: McLaughlin, 36-40.

XI

NEIGHBORS OF VIRGINIA

Our story now takes us from the New England coast back to the region of the Chesapeake Bay, and to the low, sandy coast south of Virginia. For by the time Virginia was well on its feet a sister colony, Maryland, was planted at the north not very far away, while a little later two colonies, North Carolina and South Carolina, were planted at the south on the Carolina coast.

The Founding of Maryland. The colony of Maryland had its beginning in 1634, when Leonard Calvert, with about two hundred colonists, landed on the banks of a small stream that flows into the Potomac River, and began a settlement that was called St. Mary's. Leonard Calvert was the first Governor of Maryland; but the real founder of the colony was George Calvert, who held the title of Lord Baltimore. This good and noble man was a Catholic, and he wished to worship in the Catholic Church. This he could not do in England, for the laws there at that time were very severe against Catholics. So Calvert, like many other Englishmen of his time, looked to America as a place where he might worship in his own way. He secured from the King, who was his warm friend, a charter giving him a large tract of land in the region of the Chesapeake Bay. He did not live to take part in the founding of the colony, but after his death all the rights granted in the charter were conferred on his son, Cecil Calvert, who, taking up the work begun by his father, sent out his brother Leonard to act as the Governor of the Maryland Colony.

Self-Government in Maryland. The Maryland colonists were not compelled to undergo such sufferings as their Virginia neighbors had passed through. They won the good will of the Indians, and began at once to till the soil and were soon raising good crops of tobacco. By the terms of their charter

Cecil Calvert was made proprietor (owner) of all the land of the colony, and was given power to make laws with the consent of the freemen. But the people were unwilling that the proprietor should be the law-maker.



The First Lord Baltimore

Born at Kipling, Yorkshire, England, about 1580; member of Parliament; secretary of state. He died in 1632.

They demanded for themselves the right to make laws, and the right was given them. So the settlers of Maryland very early began to enjoy the right to manage their own affairs.

Another Lesson in Americanism; Religious Freedom. The Maryland law-makers at an early date decided that the people of the colony should enjoy religious freedom. They passed a law (in 1649) providing that no person who was

a Christian should be persecuted or harmed on account of his religious belief. Here was another valuable lesson in Americanism. At this time, in England and in the other countries of Europe there was very little religious freedom. People were compelled by law to attend and support some particular church, and if any were brave enough to disobey the law and worship God in their own way they were thrown into jail, or they had their ears cut off, or were whipped, or were punished in some other cruel manner. But in Maryland and, as we have already learned, in Rhode Island, people were given much freedom in religious matters. This freedom, it is true, was not so full and complete as it is to-day, but it was the beginning of the religious liberty which all Americans now enjoy and which is prized as one of the dearest possessions of life. All honor, then, to the colonists who planted in the New World the seeds of religious freedom!

The Carolina Coast. After the unsuccessful attempts of Lane and White (p. 29) to make settlements on the Carolina coast, that part of the seaboard was for a long time neglected.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, however, English settlements began to appear along the Albemarle Sound. The settlers came from Virginia, some to seek better farming and grazing lands, others to enjoy the freedom and independence of pioneer life.

These early settlements attracted the attention of a group of English gentlemen and noblemen, and, in 1663 they applied to Charles II for a grant of land in the Carolina region. The King gave them a tract extending from Virginia on the north to Florida on the south and embracing the present States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In the westerly direction the tract was to extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This almost boundless region was given to eight royal favorites, who were to hold it as absolute lords and proprietors.

North Carolina. The proprietors at first placed the matter of government in the hands of Governor Berkeley of Virginia, who sent William Drummond to rule over the new settlements. Government in Carolina had its beginning in Albemarle, where the foundations of the State of North Carolina were laid. As early as 1665 the sturdy settlers of Albemarle were holding a little assembly for the making of laws and were thus governing themselves.

South Carolina. South Carolina had its beginning in 1670 at the mouth of the Ashley River. In that year the proprietors sent out from London three shiploads of emigrants, who were to found a new colony at Port Royal on the Carolina coast. The company selected a spot for settlement about three miles above the mouth of the Ashley River, and gave to the place the name of Charlestown, in honor of the King. The first place of settlement, however, soon began to be abandoned for a better location on the peninsula between the Ashley and the Cooper Rivers, and by 1680 the first Charlestown was deserted and the new Charlestown (now called Charleston) was a flourishing town of 2500 souls.

Life in the Carolinas. Religion played an important part in the settlement of the Carolinas, just as it played an im-

portant part in the settlement of New England and Maryland. In North Carolina the Quakers found a warm welcome, while in the other colonies they found only opposition and ill will. In South Carolina the Huguenots — French Protestants —



Along the Carolina Coast

found refuge from religious persecution. In 1598 the French King, Henry of Navarre, issued the Edict of Nantes, under which Huguenots were allowed to live in France in peace; but in 1685 the edict was revoked, and a persecution of Huguenots followed. Thousands of these persecuted people fled from

their native country and sought refuge in foreign lands. Many of them came to the English colonies and settled in New York, in Maryland, in Virginia, and in the Carolinas. Some of them went to Charleston, where they were warmly received and where they rendered noble service in the upbuilding of South Carolina. Although both North Carolina and South Carolina were under the control of the proprietors, each colony had its own separate government and each developed in its own peculiar way. In North Carolina the people were scattered far apart on their farms, and no large towns were built. It was fifty years before the colony could boast of a village with a dozen houses. In South Carolina everything centered around Charleston, which rapidly pushed forward and became one of the largest and most flourishing cities in the New World. In North Carolina were produced large quantities of pine-tar and turpentine. In South Carolina rice and indigo were the most important products. In both colonies there was slavery,

but the slaves in North Carolina were few in number. In South Carolina, where the rice-swamps were deadly to white men and could be cultivated only by negroes, the slaves outnumbered the free population.

The rule of the proprietors was never satisfactory to the people of the Carolinas. There was always discontent and quarreling, and once the government was overthrown by rebels. Nor did the proprietors reap much gain from their vast Carolina possessions. In spite of all their efforts, they could wring very little money from the troublesome colonists. So in 1729, when they had a chance to do so, the proprietors gladly sold the Carolinas to the King of England, each proprietor receiving the sum of £5000 for his share. The Carolinas now passed under the control of the King, and were governed as separate colonies until the Revolution.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. When and where was Maryland first settled? Who was the real founder of Maryland and what was his purpose in founding the colony?
2. Give an account of self-government in Maryland; of religious freedom. What lesson in Americanism was learned in early Maryland?
3. Tell the story of the early settlement of the Carolina coast.
4. What was the early history of North Carolina? Of South Carolina?
5. Describe life in the Carolinas in the early days.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1620, 1643.
2. Persons: Champlain, Henry Hudson, John Winthrop, Roger Williams.
3. Tell what you can about: the "Line of Demarcation"; the Patroons; the Pilgrims; the Puritans.
4. Review of Great Subjects: English Colonization; Religion; Americanism.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Maryland and the Carolinas: Eggleston, 52-57.
 - (2) Maryland in the Early Days: Hart, 48-51.
 - (3) Description of South Carolina: Hart, 65-67.

XII

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

About the time North Carolina and South Carolina were being settled, great things were happening around New York Bay and along the Delaware River. We have learned (p. 47) that the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware was settled by the Dutch and called New Netherland. But the English claimed this territory, and in 1664 they took possession of New Netherland. This change led to the formation of four English colonies, known as the Middle Colonies: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. How was New Netherland brought under English control? What is the early history of the four colonies that were formed out of the territory claimed by the Dutch?

New Netherland Surrendered to the English. The Dutch had hardly settled their colony before England began to disturb them. In 1664 Charles II, the King of England, did what was almost sure to be done sooner or later: he took New Netherland away from the Dutch, paying no attention whatever to their claims. He sent over a fleet of four vessels to take possession of the colony in the name of his brother James, Duke of York. Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor, fumed and stamped his wooden leg when he heard that the fleet was approaching New Amsterdam, and when the commander of the fleet sent him a letter demanding the surrender of the town, he tore the letter to bits and prepared to fight. But it was of no use for the old man to storm and fret. The English were too strong for him. The Dutch flag was hauled down, the English colors were run up, and all New Netherland passed under the control of England. This surrender gave the English full command of the seacoast from Nova Scotia to Florida.

The Dutch colony now gradually became an English colony.

English names quite generally took the place of Dutch names. For example, the town of New Amsterdam was called New York, and the colony of New Netherland also was called New York. English officers, after the surrender of 1664, took the place of Dutch officers, English laws were obeyed instead of Dutch laws, and the English language crowded out the Dutch language. These

changes were not hard to make, because, in the first place, the English and the Dutch were first cousins, and, in the second place, the Dutch settlers did not like the way they were governed under the patroon system, (p. 00) and they were glad to have the English take possession, for they hoped that under English laws they would enjoy greater freedom.



Stuyvesant Refuses to Surrender

New Jersey. When New Netherland passed into the hands of the English, it included both New York and New Jersey; but the Duke of York at once gave the part that lies between the Hudson and the Delaware, and which is now the State of New Jersey, to his good friends Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. These gentlemen were to own and rule New Jersey as proprietors, much as Maryland was owned and ruled by the Calverts. Philip Carteret, a distant relative of Sir George, came over in 1665 as Governor, and made Elizabeth-town the capital of the colony. This town, however, was not the first settlement that was made in New Jersey, for the Dutch had already laid the foundation for Hoboken and had built the

village of Bergen, now a part of Jersey City. In 1666 thirty families came from Connecticut and, settling on the Passaic River, laid the foundation of Newark.

The proprietors of New Jersey had the power to rule pretty much as they pleased; but they treated the settlers well, and, following the example of the proprietors of Maryland, gave the people the right to make laws for themselves. The first law-making body met at Elizabethtown in 1668. New Jersey grew rapidly under English rule, and the people fared well. It is said that in 1675 there was not a single poor person in the whole colony of New Jersey.

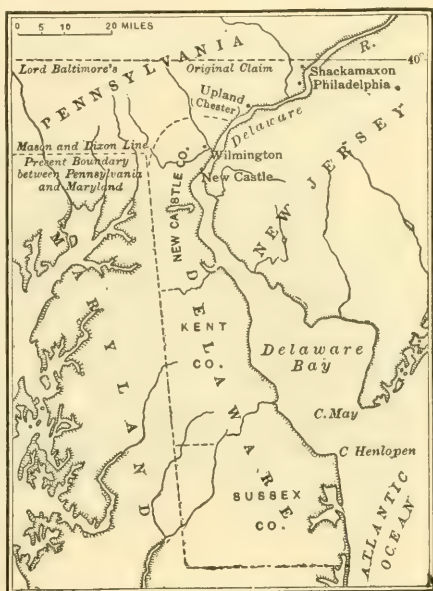
Delaware Settled by the Swedes. The strip of land on the west side of the Delaware Bay, now known as the State of Delaware, was claimed by the Dutch, but they were not allowed to hold the Delaware country in peace. In the early part of the seventeenth century Sweden, under the leadership of the great Gustavus Adolphus, began to hold up her head among the nations of Europe, and, like other wide-awake countries, began to plant colonies in America. In 1638 a company of Swedes led by Peter Minuit — whom we have already seen in the service of the Dutch (p. 48)—built a fort on the Delaware near the spot where the city of Wilmington now stands, and began a brisk trade in furs. The Swedes bought lands of the Indians, and in a few years had several flourishing settlements along the Delaware. For a while it seemed that there was to be in America a New Sweden as well as a New England, a New France, and a New Spain. But trouble soon came to New Sweden. The Dutch looked upon the Swedes as intruders and trespassers, and in 1655 Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland, with six hundred men, sailed into the bay, and after a bloodless battle captured the Swedish settlement and compelled the settlers to acknowledge the Dutch as their masters.

We have seen how the Dutch, in their turn, were soon compelled (in 1664) to acknowledge the English as their masters. When the Dutch turned over their American possessions to the English, the Swedish settlements were included in the

transfer, and what is now the State of Delaware fell into the hands of the Duke of York, where it remained for a few years and was then sold to William Penn.

William Penn. William Penn was the son of a great English naval commander, and the pathway to riches and honor was open to him. But at an early age Penn showed that he cared for something more important than riches and honor. While a young

man at college he fell under the influence of the Quakers, or the Society of Friends. The Quakers believed that every man has within himself an "inward light" which can guide him to all religious truth and which can save his soul. If this inward light, they said, is to shine in on the soul, there must be no sermons or formal services; the worshiper must sit still and be quiet and listen for the voice of God. Such a doctrine naturally led to a



Delaware River and Delaware Bay

quiet, simple, and peaceful life. The Quakers were opposed to music; they did not indulge in hunting or in gambling; they wore the plainest kind of clothes; and they were, above all things, opposed to war.

The teachings of the Quakers took such firm hold upon the mind and heart of Penn that he soon came to regard his religion as of more value to him than life itself. Admiral Penn, his father, tried hard to persuade his son to give up his Quaker notions, but his efforts were in vain. Once the young Quaker was thrown into prison for writing a book

without a license to do so. He was told that if he did not give up his religion he would remain a prisoner for life. He was not in the least frightened by the threat. "My prison," he said, "shall be my grave before I will budge a jot." When Admiral Penn heard of this firmness, he forgave his son, paid his fine, and the young man went free.

Pennsylvania. When Admiral Penn died he left Wil-



Penn's Treaty with the Indians

liam a great inheritance. A part of the estate was a claim against King Charles II for a debt of £16,000. This debt the King paid in 1681 by granting to William Penn a tract of land extending westward from the Delaware River and containing about 48,000 square miles of territory,¹ a domain almost as large as England itself. The province was given the ap-

¹ *Mason and Dixon's Line.*—There arose between Penn and the proprietor of Maryland a dispute as to the true boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The dispute was finally settled by two surveyors named Mason and Dixon, who established (1763-67) the present line which separates Maryland from Delaware and Pennsylvania. This "Mason and Dixon's Line" in later times became famous as a part of the dividing line between the slave and free States.

propriate name of Pennsylvania — Penn's Woodland. Penn was made the lord and proprietor of Pennsylvania, just as Calvert was made the lord and proprietor of Maryland.

In 1682 Penn in person sailed to his province with a hundred colonists, most of whom were Quakers. Upon reaching the spot where the city of Chester now stands, he called together an assembly of lawmakers chosen by the people. The proprietor and the Assembly, coöperating, at once enacted some very important measures. The three lower counties on the Delaware were joined to Pennsylvania. Penn wanted to be master of the coast clear to the mouth of the bay, and for this reason he bought Delaware from the Duke of York. Delaware remained a part of Pennsylvania until it set up a government of its own and became a State in 1776.¹

The Assembly also agreed to the "Great Law," which had been drawn up in England by Penn's own wise and loving hand. The Great Law provided that the people should have an assembly consisting of their chosen representatives; that there should be trial by jury, and religious freedom; that no taxes should be levied except by the Assembly; that there should be in the colony no cock-fights, stage-plays, lotteries, drunkenness, dueling, or swearing; that the poor should be cared for; that prisoners should be treated kindly; that liquor should not be sold to Indians.

From Chester Penn proceeded up the Delaware River to the place that had been chosen as the site of the capital city and which had been named Philadelphia—"the city of brotherly love." Here the proprietor established a home and took up the serious task of governing his colony. One of the first acts was to make a treaty with the neighboring Indians. Beneath a great elm Penn met the chiefs of seventeen tribes at a place just north of Philadelphia called Shackamaxon—"the place of kings"—and bought from them their lands, and entered into an agreement with them that the English and the Indians should live in peace and friendship as long

¹ In 1702 Delaware refused to send members to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but it remained under the Pennsylvania Governor until 1776.

as the sun gave light, an agreement that was sacredly kept by both sides for nearly seventy years.

Penn remained with his colonists for two years, and was then called back to England. When he returned in 1699 he found that wonderful changes had been made during his absence. More than twenty thousand white people had come to live in his province. Philadelphia, which in 1684 he had left a rude village, had grown to be a thriving city of ten thousand inhabitants, and was carrying on a profitable trade with England and the West Indies. In the city there were tanneries, potteries, sawmills, flour-mills. Many of the houses were built of brick. Markets were held twice a week, and there were inns where the traveler could get good board and a comfortable bed.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the surrender of New Netherland to the English. What changes took place under the English rule?
2. Sketch the early history of New Jersey.
3. Give an account of the Swedes in Delaware.
4. Tell the story of Penn and the Quakers.
5. Sketch the early history of Pennsylvania.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1522, 1620, 1643.
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, George Calvert.
3. Tell what you can about: the Pilgrims; the Puritans.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: English Colonization; Claims of Different Nations at Different Times; Indians and Indian Wars; Religion.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) A Settler in Pennsylvania; The Colonists and the Revolution; 28-31.
 - (2) The Walking Purchase; The Colonists and the Revolution, 57-64.
 - (3) New York in 1678: Hart, 58-62.
 - (4) New Jersey in 1675: Hart, 62-65.
 - (5) The Settlement of Pennsylvania: Hart, 67-68.
 - (6) A Journey through Delaware in 1676: Hart, 69-71.

XIII

REBELLIONS AND INDIAN UPRISINGS

The story of the earlier colonies — of Virginia, Maryland, New York, and the New England colonies — has been carried forward in previous chapters through the first half of the seventeenth century. The important events in these colonies during the latter half of the seventeenth century must now receive attention. These events have to do, for the most part, with the actions of discontented colonists and with the uprisings of restless Indians.

Charles II Rules Virginia Harshly. During this period Virginia especially was a scene of violence and misrule. You will recall that, while the Puritans were pouring into New England between 1630 and 1640, Charles I was having a quarrel with his people about church matters and about taxes. That quarrel did not end until 1649, when the King was beheaded and Oliver Cromwell, a great man and a man of the plain people, was chosen to rule over England. Cromwell and his son Richard held the reins of government until 1660, when Charles II, the son of Charles I, was restored to the kingship.

Charles II was no sooner on his throne than he began to rule Virginia with a heavy hand. In the first place, he appointed as Governor of the colony Sir William Berkeley, a man who was a tyrant by nature and who was already heartily disliked by a great many of the colonists. In the second place, the King undertook to enforce certain navigation laws that had been passed during Cromwell's time and during the reign of Charles I. These laws compelled the colonists to ship goods only in English vessels, to sell goods only to English merchants, and to buy goods only from English merchants. Under these laws the Virginia planters were compelled to sell their tobacco at whatever price the English merchants chose to give them, and they were compelled to pay for goods brought

into the colony whatever price the English merchants might ask.

Bacon's Rebellion. The discontent caused by the harsh navigation laws was increased by Berkeley's conduct in respect



Bacon Demands Permission to March
Against the Indians

to the Indians. One night in January, 1676, savages crept softly into the new settlements and murdered about forty persons. Berkeley refused to send a force against the Indians and allowed the outrage to go unpunished. He was carrying on a profitable fur trade with the Indians, and he did not want his pri-

ate business disturbed. His do-nothing policy made the people very angry, and they declared that if the Governor would not defend them they would defend themselves.

The people found a leader in Nathaniel Bacon, a rich young man of noble birth. In defiance of the Governor, Bacon raised a body of fighting men, marched against the Indians, and punished them severely. This brought on a quarrel, which ended in Bacon's marching on Jamestown and burning it to the ground. Berkeley was driven from the colony. Young Bacon was now the master of Virginia; but just as he was at the height of his power he fell sick of a fever and died.

When Bacon died, the rebellion fell to pieces and the rebels dispersed to their homes. Berkeley returned to Virginia and wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the followers of Bacon.

Twenty-three persons were put to death. "The old fool," said Charles II, "has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did here for the death of my father." The King, in disgust, deprived Berkeley of his office. When the old tyrant took his departure for England (1677), guns were fired, bonfires were kindled, and people shouted until their throats were sore. So Bacon's Rebellion accomplished at least two good things: it caused the Indians to behave themselves, and it enabled Virginia to get rid of a very bad Governor.

King Philip's War. In the same year in which Bacon gave battle to the Indians in Virginia, the people of New England also were engaged in a bloody Indian war. As the years passed it became plainer and plainer to the minds of the Indians that the white man could not always be the red man's friend. The white man was cutting down the forests and driving away the game and if he was not checked, the Indian would have no occupation and no home.



Scene of King Philip's War

In 1675 the struggle that had to come sooner or later was begun. The first blow was struck by the Indians under the leadership of Philip, the chief of the Wampanoags. King Philip, as the chief was called, began by attacking the little town of Swansea, in Rhode Island, and killing eight men. He was soon joined by other tribes, and the cruel warfare spread. Thanks to the New England Confederation (p. 59), Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut were ready to join their forces against Philip, and before the end of the summer of 1676 the Indian strength was broken and Philip himself was run down and slain. The victory was a costly one. Thir-

teen towns had been sacked and burned, and more than two thousand settlers had been killed and wounded.

A Time of Trouble for New England. About ten years after the close of King Philip's War the people of New England were again thrown into great excitement. This time the trouble came from England. In 1685 Charles II died and his brother James II was proclaimed King. The next year the new King sent over Sir Edmund Andros to act as Governor of all New England. Andros was given power to deprive all the colonies of their old charters and to give them a new government. The colonies were governed in so many different ways that they gave the King a great deal of trouble, and he desired Andros to simplify the system of government and bring New England more directly under the control of the crown.

Now, the people of New England had become accustomed to govern themselves in their own way, and they gave Andros a very cold reception indeed. When he went to Hartford and demanded the surrender of the charter of the Connecticut Colony, the charter was spirited away and hidden in the hollow of an oak-tree, and Andros never got his hands on the precious document. In Massachusetts the new Governor took the old charter away from the colony, and the people were compelled to submit to his rule. They were not compelled, however, to submit long, for in 1689 James II was driven from his throne, and his daughter Mary and her husband, William III, were proclaimed the joint rulers of England. When it was learned in America that James II was no longer King, the people of Massachusetts at once had Andros arrested, and he was soon sent out of the colony.

In 1691 the King gave out a new charter, which joined Maine (p. 54) and Plymouth to Massachusetts and which provided that Massachusetts should henceforth be ruled by a Governor appointed by the King. Connecticut and Rhode Island were allowed to govern themselves under their old charters, as they had been allowed to do before the coming of Andros.

Leisler's Rebellion. Andros was made Governor of New

York as well as of New England, but his power lasted no longer in New York than it did in Massachusetts. For after James II was driven from his throne William III sent out a Governor to New York to take the place of Andros. Before the new Governor arrived, however, the common people of New York had chosen Jacob Leisler, one of their wealthy inhabitants, as Governor. When the Governor sent out by William III reached New York (in 1691) Leisler refused to recognize his authority. For this offense he was hanged as a traitor. Leisler was greatly liked by the common people, and many felt that he had been unjustly treated. This incident, known as Leisler's Rebellion, created a bitter feeling between the upper and lower classes in New York, and many years passed before the feeling died out.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Who was Oliver Cromwell? In what way did Charles II displease the Virginians? What were the navigation laws?
2. What causes led to Bacon's Rebellion? Give an account of that rebellion.
3. What led the Indians of New England to wage war against the whites? Give an account of King Philip's War.
4. For what purpose was Sir Edmund Andros sent to the colonies? Give an account of Andros' actions in New England. What was the effect of the charter of 1691?
5. Tell the story of Leisler's Rebellion.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1588, 1643, 1664.
2. Persons: Cabot, Drake, Raleigh, Roger Williams, George Calvert, William Penn.
3. Tell what you can about: the "Line of Demarcation"; the Patroons.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Indians and Indian Wars; Commerce; English Colonization.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Early Indian Wars: Eggleston, 78-85.
 - (2) Early Struggles for Liberty: Eggleston, 153-158.
 - (3) King Philip: Whitney, 9-50.
 - (4) The Navigation Laws: Bogart, 94-98.

XIV

OUR COUNTRY IN 1700

The account of English colonization on the Atlantic coast has now been brought down to the end of the seventeenth century. What was the result of a hundred years of colony-planting? You have learned how the country looked about the year 1600. What kind of a country was it about the year 1700? What changes had taken place in America between the time when John Smith, in 1607, first sailed into the Chesapeake, and the time when William Penn, in 1701, bade his colony a last farewell?

Area of Settlement in 1700. By the year 1700 the dense forests along the Atlantic coast had, for the most part, disappeared, the wild beasts had been driven inland, and the savages had been taught to let the settlers live in peace. All along the seaboard from Nova Scotia to Florida there were thriving communities of white men. It is said that in 1700 it was possible for one to ride on horseback — it would not have been possible in a wheeled vehicle — from Portland in Maine to the southern boundary of Virginia, and to sleep each night in some good-sized village. Such were the results of a hundred years of hard work, of wood-chopping, building, plowing, and planting.

But the settled country along the seaboard in 1700 was still a very narrow strip of land. In some places the strip was only a few miles wide, and its greatest width was hardly more than a hundred miles. The western boundary of the settled country was the *Frontier Line*. East of this line men lived in an orderly, civilized manner, and life and property were safe. West of the Frontier Line were the great dark woods, where the only human beings were Indians and wandering whites, and where every man was a law unto himself. As our story proceeds, this Frontier Line will always be moving farther

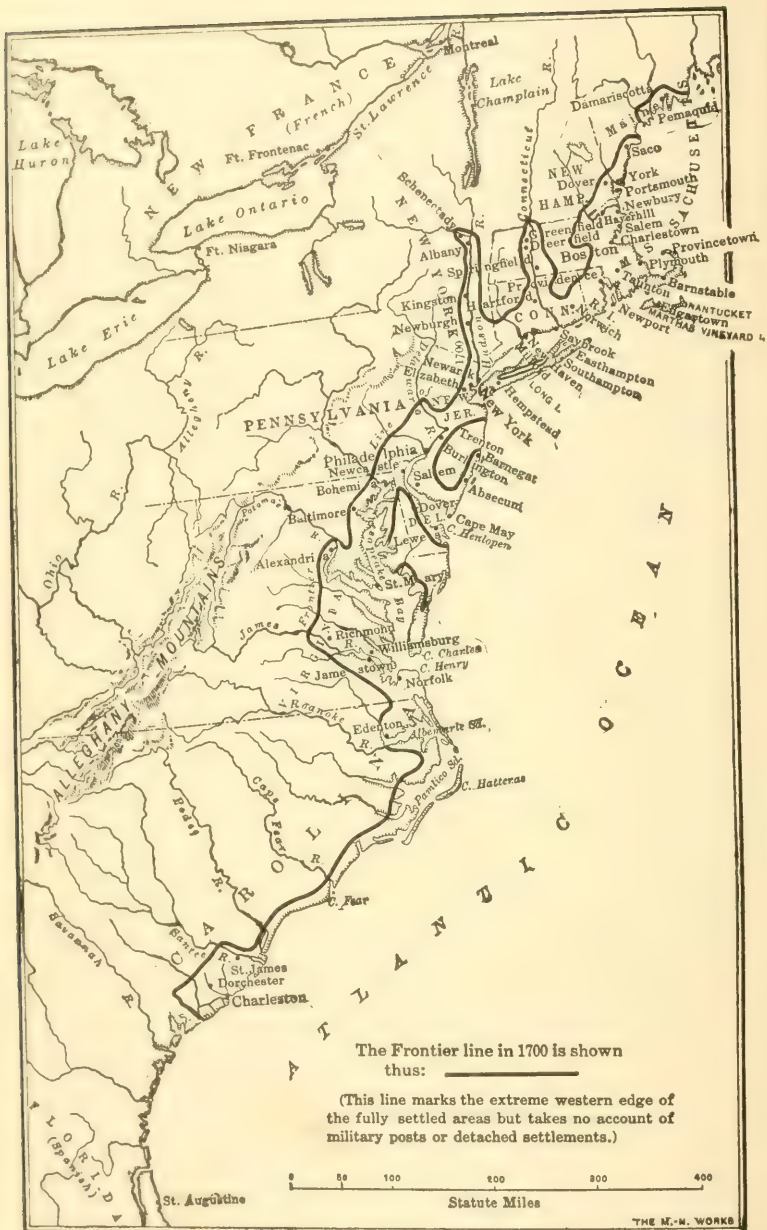
and farther to the west; and to have a clear understanding of our country's growth, one must carefully watch this line as it advances toward the setting sun.

Population; the Three Classes of People. What was the population of our country in 1700? People were not carefully counted then, but it is likely that there were about 250,000 persons in the twelve seaboard colonies. In New Hampshire there were about 5000; in Massachusetts, 60,000; in Rhode Island, 5000; in Connecticut, 20,000; in New York, 25,000; in New Jersey, 15,000; in Pennsylvania and Delaware, 30,000; in Maryland, 30,000; in Virginia, 65,000; in the Carolinas, 10,000. These estimates — for they are only estimates — include both whites and negro slaves.

The population of the colonies at this time was made up of three classes — freemen, white servants, and negro slaves. Many of the white servants were bound to serve a certain master for a certain time. These were the "indented" servants, who, in order to pay for their voyage across the ocean, had sold themselves of their own free will to a shipmaster or a planter for a term of years. Sometimes the term was as long as ten years, but often it was as short as four years. After an indented servant had served out his term he again became a freeman. In the New England colonies there were not a great many indented servants, but in the other colonies a large portion of the population consisted of this class of persons.

Negro slaves were found in all the colonies. The Quakers of Pennsylvania were opposed to slavery, yet even in that colony the negro was held in bondage. In New England slaves were few in number; in the middle colonies about one person in ten was a slave, in the southern colonies by the year 1700 a large part of the population was in slavery, and negroes were brought from Africa at the rate of 25,000 each year. Slave labor in the North was not very profitable to the master, but for the tobacco- and rice-fields of the South the African slave was the most profitable workman that could be found.

Occupations in 1700. The chief occupations of the col-



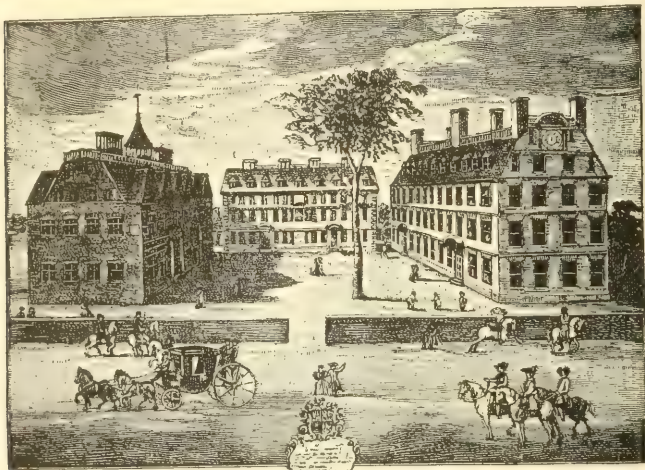
The Frontier Line in 1700

onies were farming, fur-trading, and fishing. Of these farming was by far the most important, for almost everybody was a farmer. But the colonial farmer in 1700 was usually a jack-of-all-trades; now he was a hunter and trapper, now a lumberman and carpenter, now a fisherman and sailor. Next in importance to farming came the fur trade. In Europe, in the seventeenth century, stoves were not in use and houses were very poorly heated, if they were heated at all. As a source of warmth, furs were brought into use much more than they are now. Floors were covered with furs, bed-clothing consisted largely of furs, and many garments were made of furs. This great demand for furs in Europe made the fur trade in the colonies very profitable, for everywhere the forests abounded in fur-bearing animals. Fishing was carried on most extensively in New England, where in 1700 nearly a thousand vessels were employed in the codfishery alone.

Manufacturing in the colonies in 1700 was, of course, still in a rude state. For all kinds of fine goods the colonists depended upon the workshops of England. And England intended that her colonies should depend upon the home country for most of their manufactured articles. She had manufactures of her own and she did not want colonial manufactures to flourish. It was her policy, therefore, to compel the colonists to buy English goods and to prevent them from making goods for themselves. Still, certain coarse articles were made in the colonies. In many a colonial home there were spinning and weaving, soap-making, candle-making, cabinet-making, and upholstering. There was one industry in particular that soon gained a foothold in the colonies. This was ship-building. Owing to the large supplies of splendid timber at the very water's edge, cheaper and better vessels could be built in the American colonies than anywhere in Europe. Especially did this industry flourish in New England, where enough vessels were built to supply the home demand, and fifty more were built every year and sold abroad.

Education. In matters of education the colonies had not advanced very far. In New England Harvard College was

flourishing and public schools were quite common. The Hartford Grammar School, now the High School, was founded in 1638, and Yale College in 1701. In the middle colonies there were very few schools, and in the southern almost none at all.



Harvard College in 1726

In 1671 Governor Berkeley thanked God that there were no schools in Virginia, and expressed a hope that there would be none for a hundred years. If he had lived, however, until 1693 he would have witnessed the founding of William and Mary College, the second college established in America.

Religion. We have seen that religion played an important part in the founding of most of the colonies. By 1700 a number of different faiths had gained a firm foothold in the New World. In Virginia and the Carolinas the Church of England — the Episcopal Church — led all the other denominations. In Virginia alone there were fifty Episcopal churches. In Maryland the Catholic influence was strong, though the ruling classes belonged to the Episcopal Church. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey the Quakers outnumbered the other denominations, although there were many Lutherans, Baptists, and Presbyterians in these colonies. In New York

there was almost every denomination that could be mentioned, but no one church was strong enough to be regarded as the leader. In New England religious feeling was very strong, and the Church was the ruling force in almost all the affairs of life. Here the Congregational Church, which was the church of the Puritans, prevailed, except in Rhode Island, where the Baptists were the strongest religious body.

Government. In 1700 the government of one colony did not differ much from the government of another. In every colony the right of voting was given to men who owned a certain amount of property. Each colony had its own Governor. In Connecticut and Rhode Island this officer was elected by the people; in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas he was appointed by the proprietor; in the other colonies he was appointed by the King of England. Each colony had a law-making body—an Assembly or General Court—which was elected by the people and which could pass any law that was not contrary to a law of England. If a colonial law was contrary to the law of England it could be vetoed by the King. Between the Assembly and the Governor there was a body of assistants or councilors appointed by the King and known as the Council. In every colony there were judges to try cases and settle disputes. In every colony there was a system of local government for the manage-



A Colonial Schoolroom

ment of local affairs. There were counties and county officers in every colony. In the southern colonies the county was the only local government. In the other colonies towns (or townships) were established within the county to attend to the affairs of the immediate neighborhood.

Thus we see that by 1700 a second England had been carried across the sea and firmly planted along the Atlantic coast. It is true there were some Dutch in New York and some Swedes in Delaware and Pennsylvania, but in the main the people of the seaboard colonies were English. They spoke English, they lived in the English way, and they enjoyed the blessings of English government and law.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. To what extent had the English by 1700 made settlements on the Atlantic seaboard? What is meant by the Frontier Line? Trace this line for the year 1700 (see map, p. 180).
2. What was the estimated population of the several colonies in 1700? Who were the "indented" servants? Give an account of slavery in the colonies.
3. What were the chief occupations of the colonists in 1700? Why was the fur trade so important? What was England's policy in respect to colonial manufactures? To what extent was there manufacturing in the colonies?
4. What advancement had the colonies made in education in 1700?
5. By 1700 what religious denominations had gained a foothold in the colonies?
6. Describe the government of a colony.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1664, 1689.
2. Persons: George Calvert, William Penn, Edmund Andros.
3. Tell what you can about: the "Line of Demarcation"; Bacon's Rebellion.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Americanism; Agriculture; Manufacturing; Commerce; Education; Government; Religion.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Good Old Colony Times; The Colonists and the Revolution, 3-8.
 - (2) Bond Servants and Slaves in the Colonies: Eggleston, 104-108.
 - (3) Laws and Usages in the Colonies: Eggleston, 108-113.

XV

A HALF-CENTURY OF COLONIAL GROWTH

In the last chapter we learned of the civilization that had been planted by Englishmen along the Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century. We shall now trace the history of colonial growth through the first half of the eighteenth century.

Immigration; Pennsylvania Dutch; Scotch-Irish. Before 1700 white men who came to the colonies were in nearly all cases Englishmen. About 1700, however, streams of immigrants who were not Englishmen began to pour into America. These newcomers came from almost every country of Europe, but by far the greatest number came from Germany and Ireland. Most of the Germans came from the Rhine country, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was rendered unsafe for life and property because it was so often overrun by soldiers and devastated by war. A few of the German immigrants went up into New York and settled in the Mohawk valley. The greater part of them, however, settled in Pennsylvania and became known as Pennsylvania Dutch, although they were not Dutch at all. The Germans from the Rhine country began to arrive in Pennsylvania soon after the founding of the colony, and by 1727 they were coming over in large numbers. In one year (1749) more than 7000 arrived, and it is estimated that by 1776 nearly 100,000 Germans had settled in Pennsylvania alone, to say nothing of those who had settled in other colonies.

The Germans were attracted to Pennsylvania because the colony permitted them to become citizens on easy terms and because it offered them cheap lands. They were worthy of their citizenship, for they were self-respecting, intelligent, and industrious. It was the sturdy stroke of the German's ax that brought eastern Pennsylvania rapidly under cultivation, and it was to the thrift and industry of the German farmer that Pennsylvania owed much of her prosperity in early times.

Another great stream of immigration flowed from the North of Ireland and consisted of Scotch-Irish — Scots who lived in Ireland. During the seventeenth century large numbers of Scotch Presbyterians moved to the North of Ireland, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century several hundred thousand had established homes in the county of Ulster. But



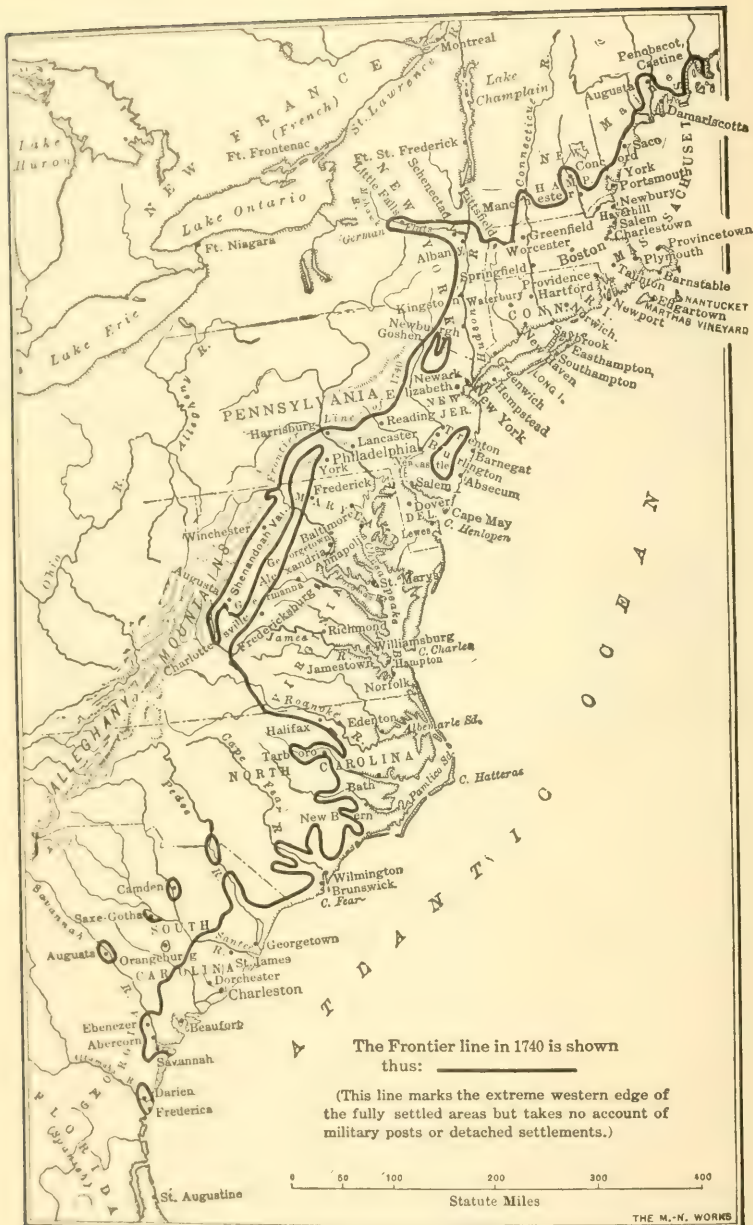
Philadelphia About 1750

they were discontented in their new home. They were annoyed on account of their religion and were not allowed freedom in matters of trade. So the Scotch-Irish looked to America as a place of refuge, and in the early years of the eighteenth century began to emigrate to the colonies. They settled in all parts of British America, in New England, in the middle colonies, and in the South. But Pennsylvania received the largest share of the Scotch-Irish, just as it received the largest share of the Germans. The Scotch-Irish began to arrive in Pennsylvania in considerable numbers about 1715, and by 1729 were landing on the wharves of Philadelphia in such numbers that the Governor of the province became alarmed lest they should make themselves masters of the province.

Georgia. Some of the Germans and Scotch-Irish found their way to the new colony of Georgia, which in 1733 was founded on the Carolina coast. The portion of the seaboard lying between the Ashley and the St. Mary's rivers was claimed by Spain as well as by England, but no settlement was made on this part of the coast by either nation until George II, King of England, gave to James Oglethorpe and some of his associates a charter for the land between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers, westward to the Pacific Ocean. Oglethorpe sailed from England with thirty-five families, and in 1733 reached the mouth of the Savannah River, where he began to build the city of Savannah and to lay the foundations of Georgia.

There was a double purpose in the planting of the Georgia colony. In the first place, the King wanted a barrier between Florida and the Carolinas. He saw that the Spaniards of Florida were pushing northward, and he wished to head them off by planting a colony of Englishmen at the mouth of the Savannah. In the second place, Oglethorpe saw in the wilds of Georgia a place where he could carry out a scheme that was dear to his heart. In London at this time a great many worthy people were confined in the prisons for debt—a thing that could not happen to-day, but was once very common. Oglethorpe sincerely pitied these poor debtors, and it was for their sake that he gave his time and his money to the founding of Georgia. He caused the most worthy of the debtors to be released from prison, and many of these he took with him to his colony, where they could become owners of land and build up their fortunes anew.

Oglethorpe went to Georgia in person and served as its Governor. He was assisted in governing by a small number of trustees. These trustees made all the laws. Slavery was forbidden in the colony, and intoxicating liquor could not be imported. As long as Oglethorpe remained with his colonists, affairs went well. But after a faithful service of ten years he returned to England. Then the colonists became dissatisfied. They wanted rum, they wanted slaves, and they



The Frontier Line in 1740

wanted a law-making body composed of chosen representatives. In the end they got all these things. In 1752 the plan of governing by trustees was given up and Georgia became a royal colony, remaining under the government of the King until the Revolution, when it had a population of 50,000 souls.

Moving Westward; the Great Valley of the Shenandoah.

After the founding of Georgia no more English colonies were planted, for the time had come when it was more desirable to develop the existing colonies than to organize new ones. At the opening of the eighteenth century in almost every colony there were great areas of vacant land, and colonial growth for many years consisted mainly in bringing these lands under cultivation and filling them with people. This development necessarily took a westward course, for if the English colonists went far to the north they met the French, and if they went far to the south they met the Spanish. In New York the westward movement at this time was very slow, because the progress of the English was opposed not only by the French, but also by powerful tribes of Iroquois Indians. But in the western part of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina the Indians were less troublesome and there were as yet no French at all. So it was from Pennsylvania and from the southern colonies that the settlers first began to move in considerable numbers toward the West.

The first important westward movement of population began with the settlement of the beautiful valley that lies between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains and is drained by the Shenandoah River. In 1716 Governor Spotswood of Virginia, with fifty companions, entered this valley near the present site of Port Republic, and with much ceremony took possession of the region in the name of King George of England. His purpose in pushing out into the valley was to head off the French, who at the time, as we shall learn more fully in the next chapter, had already taken possession of the country west of the Alleghanies and were pushing east as fast as they dared.

Soon after the expedition of Spotswood the settlement of the

Shenandoah valley began in earnest. First came a few settlers from the older parts of Virginia. Then came large numbers of the Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania. These enterprising people by 1730 had crossed the Susquehanna and were making settlements in the Cumberland valley. In 1732 they began to move down into the Shenandoah valley and build rude cabins and plant corn-fields. In a few years so many people — Virginians, Scotch-Irish, and Germans — had settled in the valley that it became necessary for them to have some form of government. So in 1738 Virginia took the matter in hand and organized the Shenandoah region as a county and provided it with a regular government.

Thus between 1700 and 1750 the strip of English civilization along the seaboard was greatly widened, and the Frontier Line was pushed westward over the Blue Ridge Mountains even to the crest of the Alleghanies. With this increase in the area of settlement there was, of course, an increase in population. In 1750 there were in the thirteen colonies about a million whites and a quarter of a million negro slaves. The population of the colonies, therefore, in 1750 was nearly five times as great as it was in 1700 (p. 79).

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the Pennsylvania Dutch; of the Scotch-Irish.
2. What grant of land was given to Oglethorpe? What were Oglethorpe's plans? What was the early history of Georgia?
3. Why did the development of the English colonies proceed in a westerly direction? In what colonies did the westward movement begin? Give an account of the settlement of the Shenandoah valley. What was the population of the colonies about 1750?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1607, 1664, 1689.
2. Persons: John Smith, William Penn, Edmund Andros.
3. Tell what you can about: Bacon's Rebellion; the Pilgrims.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Population; European Background; The Westward Movement; English Colonization; Commerce.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Coming of the Germans and Irish: Eggleston, 67-69.
 - (2) The Settlement of Georgia: Eggleston, 63-67.

XVI

IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY: LOUISIANA

In the beginning the French came to Canada in very small numbers (p. 45). In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, they came over in larger numbers, and the population of Canada was in a short time doubled. During this period, also, the French extended their power over the entire Mississippi Valley, and in doing so came into conflict with the claims of the English. We shall now have the story of the great extension of the French power in America and shall learn of the quarrels that arose between the French and the English.

Marquette and La Salle. In 1664, the very year (p. 66) in which the English power along the Atlantic coast was so greatly strengthened by the seizure of New Netherland, the French King, Louis XIV, took measures for building up the French power in America. He appointed new officers for the government of Canada and sent over 2,000 colonists and 1,200 trained soldiers. French explorers were now encouraged to push out into the wilderness, and wherever they went the French flag was raised and the region round about was claimed for France.

Foremost among the Frenchmen who took part in building up a New France in America were James Marquette and Robert La Salle. Marquette was a Jesuit priest—a member of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits at the time were going out into all parts of the world, into Asia and Africa as well as into America, and with great devotion were lifting up the cross and converting heathen people to Christianity. Nowhere was the zeal of the Jesuits greater than it was among the American Indians, and no Jesuit missionary was more zealous than Marquette.

In 1673 this pious man, in company with some fur-traders and guides, ascended the Fox River as far as birch-bark

canoes would float, made an easy portage¹ to the Wisconsin River, followed this stream to the Mississippi, and continued his journey southward on the Father of Waters until he came to the mouth of the Arkansas, the point in the great river where the body of De Soto was buried (p. 23). Here Marquette turned his boat around and made his way northward, against swift-flowing streams, till he reached the Michigan country, where his labors were soon ended by death. It is said that when he died he was kneeling at an altar which he had made with his own hands, and that his lifeless body, when found, was still in the attitude of prayer.



La Salle Taking Possession of Louisiana

La Salle completed for France the work of discovery begun by Marquette. About 1670 this daring explorer discovered the Ohio — Beautiful — River, and in 1682 he floated down the Mississippi to its mouth. Here he raised the French flag and took possession of the Mississippi basin in the name of France, calling the vast region Louisiana, in honor of his King, Louis XIV. France was now in possession of the St. Lawrence valley, the Great Lake region, and the Mississippi.

¹ A portage is a break in a water route over which goods or boats have to be carried.

valley. While the English were making themselves masters of only a narrow strip of coast-land, the French had gained control of the heart of America and of the most valuable portions of the New World.

King William's War. It was not to be expected that England would stand with folded arms and look on while the French gained possession of the heart of the American continent. The trouble that was bound to come began in 1689, when William III was made King of England (p. 76). James II and Louis XIV had been strong friends, and when James lost his throne the French King took up his friend's cause and waged war upon William. As soon as Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, learned that England and France were at war, he planned a series of attacks upon the border settlements of New England and New York. The men who were to make these attacks were for the most part Indians friendly to the French and hostile to the English. The most shameful deed of King William's War was the terrible massacre at Schenectady, in New York. One night in February, 1690, a band of Frenchmen and Indians rushed in upon this frontier town at an hour when everybody was asleep, and began the work of destruction. Buildings were set on fire, men were shot as they ran out of their houses, and women and children were either burned to death or were murdered as they lay in their beds. Sixty persons were killed outright, and nearly a hundred were captured and carried away.

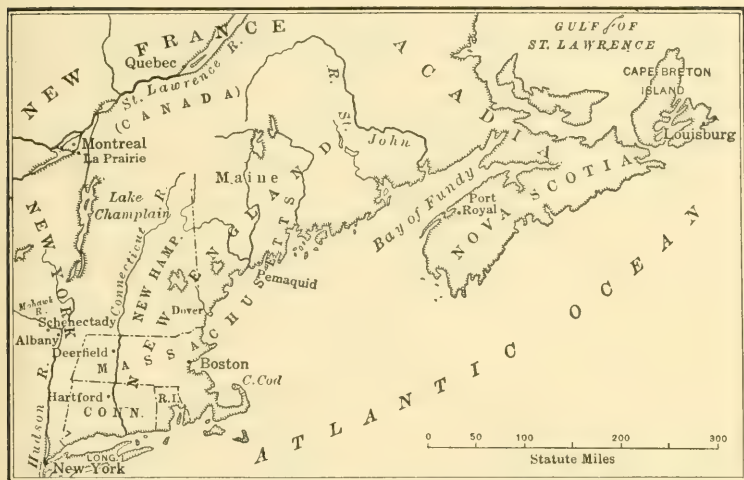
Queen Anne's War. A second clash between the French and English colonies came in 1702, when the King of France placed his grandson on the Spanish throne and thus threatened to spread the French power over Spain. This was distasteful to the English, and France and England went to war over the matter. In America the war was known as Queen Anne's War, Anne being then the Queen of England. Queen Anne's War was simply King William's War over again. The French and Indians rushed down from Canada and attacked the unprotected settlements of the English. At Deerfield, in Massachusetts, there was a frightful slaughter of the inhabi-

tants. The people of New England attacked Nova Scotia, and in 1710 gained possession of that peninsula. Queen Anne's War was brought to a close in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. The war had one important result: it took Nova Scotia from France and gave it to England.

French Colonies and Forts in the Mississippi Valley.

While these wars were in progress, the French were all the time strengthening their power in the Mississippi valley. The deeds of La Salle had caused France to take a greater interest in the affairs of America than she had ever shown before. Under the direction of the great King Louis XIV, plans were set on foot for the planting of colonies near the mouth of the Mississippi River, and by 1716 Bienville had laid the foundations of Natchez, the oldest permanent settlement in the Mississippi valley south of Illinois. In 1718 New Orleans was founded, and in 1722 it was made the capital city of Louisiana. France also took active measures to strengthen herself in the possession of the entire valley. She fortified important points throughout the valley, and by the time she had finished there were forts on the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Wabash, the Great Lakes, and the St. Lawrence. Between New Orleans and Montreal the French flag waved over more than sixty forts.

King George's War. For thirty years after the Treaty of Utrecht there was peace between the French and English in America. Then there was another clash between France and England, and again the war spread to America, where it was known as King George's War. In this war there were the usual raids of French and Indians from Canada, and there was besides a military event of great interest. This was the capture of Louisburg, a fort that the French had built at great expense on the island of Cape Breton to guard the gateway of the St. Lawrence. Against this stronghold Sir William Pepperell of Boston, with three thousand men from New England, led an attack, and after a siege of six weeks the mighty fortress fell. At the end of the war Louisburg, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was given back (1748) to



Scene of King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and King George's War

France, and the great victory, after all, seemed hardly worth while. Nevertheless the taking of Louisburg taught the colonists that they were no longer weaklings, and that, if necessary, they could do still greater things.

Ohio Valley Claimed by Both French and English. No sooner was King George's War at an end than the French and English colonists began to quarrel over the possession of the Ohio valley. England claimed this magnificent region on the ground that Cabot's discovery made England the owner of all North America, and upon the further ground that the Iroquois Indians, who lived in the Ohio country, had acknowledged themselves to be English subjects and had granted their Ohio lands to England.

France claimed the Ohio region upon the ground of La Salle's discovery. That there might be no mistake about the French claim, the Governor of Canada in 1749 sent a company of French and Indians down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to take formal possession of the country in the name of the King of France. As signs of possession, tin plates bearing

the arms of France were nailed to trees standing at the mouths of streams flowing into the Ohio, while in the bed of the river were buried leaden plates bearing an inscription to the effect that the land around belonged to France.

England paid no attention whatever to the leaden plates. In the very year in which they were buried, the King of England granted a large tract of the Ohio country to some wealthy Virginians. This action thoroughly aroused the French, and to strengthen their position they at once built a chain of three forts (see map, p. 102)—one at Presque Isle (Erie), one twenty miles away at Lebcœuf, and one at Venango (Franklin, Pennsylvania).

French and English Colonial Systems Compared. What with the building of forts and the marking off of boundaries and the laying of claims to wide stretches of territory, France was now making a show of strength in the New World. But her power was by no means so great as it seemed to be. The things done by France in America were insignificant when compared with the things done by England. France was left behind because she had a bad colonial system, while England had a good one. We have already learned (p. 45) that the French in America neglected the occupation of farming, and that the English encouraged farming.

There were other important differences between the French and the English colonial systems. In New France the colonists were treated as underlings; they were allowed no voice in government, and were compelled to obey officers sent out by the French King. In British America the colonists were treated as freemen and were allowed to govern themselves. In New France the colonists could not act for themselves, but had to do things strictly according to the wishes of the far-away home government. In British America the colonists were thrown upon their own resources and could do the things that in their judgment ought to be done.

As a result of these differences in colonial management, British America ran ahead of New France in industry, in trade, in education, in wealth, in population. At the end of

one hundred and fifty years of colonial experience the French in America numbered only about 80,000, while the English numbered more than a million. In 1750 in the entire Mississippi valley there were probably fewer than five thousand Frenchmen. Surely the French power, although it was spread over a vast extent of territory, was spread extremely thin.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the beginnings of the movement to build up the French power in the Mississippi valley. Who were the Jesuits? Give an account of the explorations of Marquette and La Salle.

2. Tell the story of King William's War.

3. Tell the story of Queen Anne's War.

4. What colony was founded by the French in the Mississippi valley? What forts were built there?

5. Tell the story of King George's War.

6. Give an account of the claims made by the English and the French to the Ohio valley. Tell the story of the leaden plates.

7. Compare the French colonial system with the English system.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1607, 1689.

2. Persons: Henry the Navigator; Columbus; Americus Vesputius; Champlain; Henry Hudson; Edmund Andros; James Oglethorpe.

3. Tell what you can about: The Patroons; Bacon's Rebellion; the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish.

4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The French in North America; Discovery and Explorations; Claims of Different Nations at Different Times; Religion.

5. Reading References:

(1) The Jesuits: Parkman, 130-134.

(2) The Discovery of the Mississippi: Parkman, 186-194.

(3) La Salle: Parkman, 195-222.

(4) The Fur Trader and the Indian: The Colonists and the Revolution, 96-101.

(5) The French in Canada: Eggleston, 116-120.

(6) King William's War; Queen Anne's War; King George's War; Eggleston, 120-127.

(7) Hannah Dustan: Bruce, 13-16.



The First Portrait of George Washington

XVII

THE STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT

The building of the French forts on land claimed by the English, and the quarrel over the possession of the Ohio country brought on the fourth and final clash in America, a conflict known as the French and Indian War. This war was really a life-and-death struggle between the English and the French for the possession of North America.

The French Capture Fort Duquesne. The presence of the French forts on the Allegheny River thoroughly alarmed the people of Virginia, the colony that had the strongest claim on the Ohio country. It was seen clearly enough that if the French should gain possession of the "Forks of the Ohio"—the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela—the Virginians would be shut out of the Ohio valley completely; for these Forks were the natural gateway to the West. So in 1753 Robert Dinwiddie, the Governor of Virginia, sent a message to the commander of the fort at Lebcœuf informing him that the French were trespassing upon English property and that they must abandon the newly built forts. The bearer of the message was George Washington, a young major in the Virginia militia.

The French commander received Washington kindly, but refused to give up the forts and politely hinted that it would be well if Governor Dinwiddie would attend to his own business. His reply meant, of course, that if the English wanted the Ohio country they would have to fight for it, and this the Virginians at once prepared to do. The first thing to be done was to gain possession of the Forks of the Ohio. For this purpose Dinwiddie, late in 1753, sent a party of men, under Captain William Trent, to the Forks, with orders to build a log fort there. In the spring of 1754 Washington

was sent with a small body of troops to the Forks to help Trent build the fort. But before Washington could reach the place the French had driven Trent away, finished the fort, and taken possession of it. They named the place Fort Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada. So, in the first movement to secure possession of the gateway to the West, the French had won and the Virginians had failed.

The people of all the colonies and the people of England also were greatly disturbed by the movements of the French on the Ohio. And well they might be. For what did it mean to the colonists to have the French in control of the Ohio and its head-waters? It meant a stunted growth for the colonies; it meant that the English power would never extend farther west than the ridge of the Alleghany Mountains. And what did it mean to England herself to have France guarding the gateway to the West? It meant to England that in the end her rival would become the real mistress of all the country between the Appalachians and the Rocky Mountains; and this enormous increase of power would make France the most powerful nation on earth. No wonder, then, that Englishmen on both sides of the ocean demanded that the French be driven from Fort Duquesne.

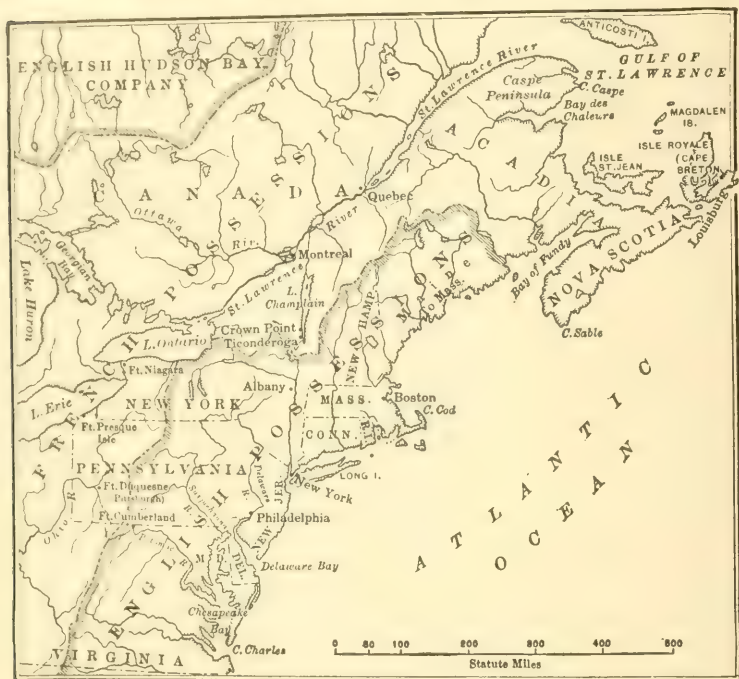
The Albany Congress. The French could be driven out if the colonies would unite their forces, for in union there is strength. But at this time there was no union between the colonies. Even the New England Confederation (p. 59) was no longer in existence. Each colony was quite independent of all the others. Maryland acted as if Pennsylvania were not in the world, and Pennsylvania acted as if Maryland were not in the world. Yet both colonies were equally interested in checking the French power.

In 1754 an attempt was made to form a union between the colonies. A Congress composed of twenty-five members, representing seven colonies, met at Albany to consider a plan of union. A plan was drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, who was widely known both as a philosopher and as a statesman. Under Franklin's plan there was to be a Grand Council, which

was to have power to levy taxes for the support of an army. The Grand Council was to be composed of representatives elected by the colonies. Franklin's plan was adopted by the Congress, but the colonies were so jealous of each other that they were afraid to agree to it. So it was rejected. Although the Albany Congress accomplished but little, Franklin continued to work in the cause of union, and his efforts, as we shall learn hereafter, were at last crowned with success.

Defeat of General Braddock. While these fruitless efforts for union were being made, England was preparing for war. In 1755 General Braddock, with two thousand British soldiers, was sent to Virginia with orders to march against Fort Duquesne. At Alexandria eight hundred Virginians joined him. Washington was made a member of Braddock's staff. The army followed the Potomac to the point where the city of Cumberland now stands. Here it entered the great forest. Three hundred axemen cleared the way for the army, but the forward movement was very slow. In eight days the army covered only thirty miles. On the morning of July 9, when within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, the British were suddenly surprised by French and Indians. Washington explained to Braddock that the enemy would fight from behind rocks and trees, and that the English would have to fight in the same way. But Braddock was as obstinate as he was brave, and he would not listen to the young major. He persisted in fighting in the open, and his soldiers in their bright scarlet coats were mowed down by the hidden foe like a field of poppies. Nearly eight hundred of his men were killed or wounded, while the enemy lost scarcely fifty. He himself was shot through the lungs, and in a few days died. Washington during the battle was calm and self-possessed. Four bullets were sent through his clothing and two horses were killed under him, yet he escaped unhurt. When Braddock fell, Washington took charge of the troops and led them out of the trap into which they had fallen. If the young major had not rescued them, every one of the soldiers would doubtless have been killed or captured.

The European Background of the French and Indian War.
The struggle in which Washington was now taking such a noble part is known in American history as the French and Indian War. It was given this name because the Indians for



Scene of the French and Indian War

the most part fought on the side of the French. All the red-men, however, did not fight on that side, for the powerful Iroquois tribes remained friendly to the English.

The European background of the French and Indian War was the Seven Years' War. This mighty struggle began in Europe in 1756 and spread to Africa and Asia. The war was waged against Frederick the Great of Prussia for the purpose of compelling him to give back to Austria territory which he had taken from that country in a previous war. The nations which combined against Frederick were Austria, France

and Russia. Great Britain threw her aid to Frederick, because France was not only threatening British interests in America but was also trying to drive the British out of India. The Seven Years' War, therefore, was a contest in which Great Britain had great things at stake; if France should win, the British power in America and Asia would suffer and France would become the leading nation of the world.

The French and Indian War. With the outbreak of the Seven Years' War the French and Indian War began in earnest. Even before England formally declared war against France the English government had laid plans for doing four things in America: (1) to gain the mastery of the seacoast by the recapture of Louisburg (p. 94) and by seizing the French forts in Acadia (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick); (2) to take Fort Duquesne; (3) to take the French fort at Niagara; (4) to take Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and move northward from that point and capture Quebec.

In June, 1755, the English sailed into the Bay of Fundy and captured the French forts on the neck of land which connects Nova Scotia with the mainland. This isthmus, with the country round about, was usually known as Acadia. * The Acadians were simple, peaceable farmers, but they were a headstrong folk, and they would not acknowledge their English captors as their masters. So the English determined to rid the land of them. One day (September 5, 1755) when the people were in the churches at worship, soldiers appeared and seized the men, women, and children — seven thousand in all — and hurried them aboard ships which carried them southward, scattering them along the coast all the way to North Carolina.

After the capture of Acadia the war dragged on and the English did little of importance until 1758, when William Pitt, one of England's great statesmen and a warm friend of the colonies, took charge of affairs. Pitt gave new life to the war. He pushed the conquest of Nova Scotia, and in a few months the great fortress of Louisburg was again in the hands of the

English, and the gateway of the St. Lawrence was closed upon the French.

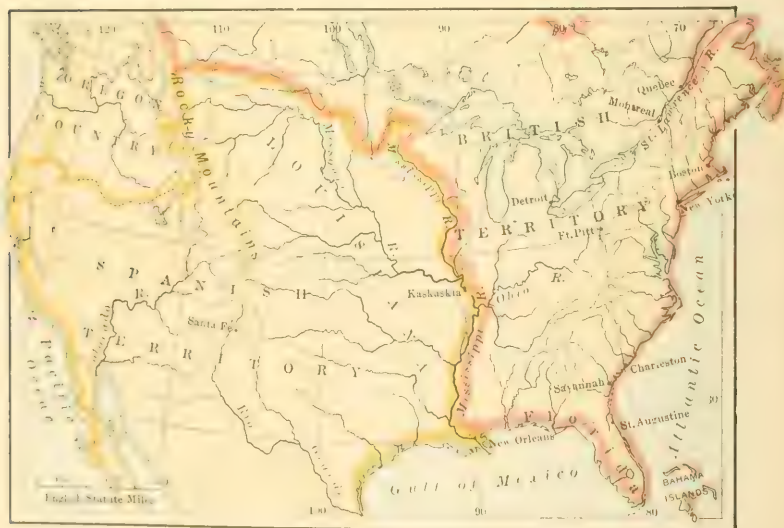
In 1758 also the English finished another of the four great things they had planned to do — the taking of Fort Duquesne. General Forbes, assisted by troops from Pennsylvania and Virginia, marched forth to make a second attack upon this important stronghold. At the head of the Virginians, clad in their fringed leather hunting-shirts, was Washington, now raised to the rank of colonel. The army was prepared for fierce fighting, but when the fort was reached it was a heap of smoking ruins. The French set it on fire and abandoned it. It passed into the hands of the English without a blow, and was named Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh), in honor of the man who was doing so much for the success of the war.

Pitt caused one victory to follow fast upon the heels of another. In July, 1759, Sir William Johnson of western New York, who lived among the Iroquois Indians and was their leader, moved against the fort at Niagara and captured it. Three of the great things the English had planned to do had now been done: the seaboard had been won, and Fort Duquesne and Fort Niagara had been captured. Pitt had spread his net wisely and was fast closing in on his game. The capture of Duquesne and Niagara entirely cut off the French in Canada from the Ohio valley, and the capture of Louisburg cut them off from the sea.

About the time Johnson was attacking Niagara, General Amherst, with a large army, moved upon Crown Point, but when he reached the fort the French had fled. It had been planned that he should proceed northward and assist General Wolfe in taking Quebec, but he failed to do this, and Wolfe moved against the fortress alone. All the world knows of the dangerous and brave assault he made and of the glory of his success. In the dead of night, at the head of his men, he clambered up the rocky steps that led to the fortress, and when the sun rose he had five thousand troops drawn up in battle array on the Plains of Abraham (September 13, 1759). Here he faced Montcalm, a general as brave as himself. The



BEFORE THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR



AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

battle was severe and bloody. Both generals were killed. Wolfe, while in the agonies of death, heard some one say: "They fly! They fly!" "Who fly?" said Wolfe. "The French," was the reply. "Then I die happy," said the general. Montcalm also was calm and great to the last. When he was told that his wound was mortal and that he could live only



Quebec About 1750

a few hours, he answered: "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." He died before the city surrendered.

The Results of the French and Indian War; — the Treaty of 1763. With the surrender of Quebec to the English (September, 1759) the French and Indian War practically came to an end. But the results of the conflict could not be fully known until the Seven Years' War should be finished. That great struggle continued until 1763 and when it was over England found herself on the side that had won the victory. The outcome of the war, as far as America was concerned, could be seen in the treaty of Paris, signed in 1763. By this famous treaty France lost every foot of the land she had in North America excepting two insignificant islands, Miquelon and St. Pierre. Her possessions west of the Mississippi

went to Spain, and those east of the Mississippi went to England. Florida also was ceded to England. On the day that the treaty was signed New Orleans was ceded by France to Spain and soon the Spanish flag was waving over that city. But after 1763 the French flag waved nowhere in America except on the two little islands off the coast of Newfoundland. Thus the Seven Years' War brought great glory and power to England, and thus the French and Indian War resulted in the downfall of France in America.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the efforts of the French and English to gain possession of the Forks of the Ohio. Why were the English alarmed at the loss of the Forks?
2. Tell the story of the Albany Congress.
3. Describe the defeat of General Braddock.
4. What was the European background of the French and Indian War?
5. In the French and Indian War what was the English plan of campaign? Give an account of the capture of Acadia and Louisburg. Describe the capture of Fort Duquesne. When and by whom was Fort Niagara taken? Tell the story of the capture of Quebec.
6. What were the terms of the treaty of 1763?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1585, 1629, 1689 (2)
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, John Winthrop, James Oglethorpe, Marquette, La Salle.
3. Tell what you can about: The Line of Demarcation; the Pilgrims; the Puritans; the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The French in North America; Wars before 1783; Steps in the Formation of the Union; European Background; Treaties; Claims of Different Nations at Different Times.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Mission of Washington: Parkman, 335-338.
 - (2) Braddock's Defeat: Eggleston, 128-132; Parkman, 343-350.
 - (3) Read in the class, The Acadians: Lane and Hill, 72-77.
 - (4) General Wolfe: Parkman, 369-379.
 - (5) The Capture of Quebec: Hart, 105-107; Hitchcock, 63-78.
 - (6) The Results of Victory: Parkman, 457-460.

XVIII

OVER THE MOUNTAINS

The victory over the French in the French and Indian War gave the entire Mississippi valley east of the Mississippi River to the English. So the colonists were now free to push out over the mountains and make settlements in the valley beyond. This they at once began to do. How did the colonists deal with the Indian tribes of the region? How was the country beyond the mountains opened up for settlement? And what was the early history of these early settlements in the West?

Clearing the Way for the White Man. Now that the Ohio country had fallen into the possession of the English, the colonists could make their settlements beyond the mountains without any fear of being disturbed by the French. But there were still lurking in the forests fierce Indians who did not want the Englishmen to settle among them. The red men were afraid the English would drive them from their hunting-grounds. Even before the close of the French and Indian War the white man had begun to invade the country. So when the Ohio valley passed under the full control of the English the savages became alarmed and threatened to rebel against their new masters.

The English government, wishing to avoid trouble with the Indians, at first tried to make friends of them and get along with them on terms of peace. In 1763 the King of England issued a proclamation reserving most of the newly acquired territory for the use of the Indians. He described a line dividing the territory lying west of the heads or sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic from the territory lying east of these sources, and reserved for the Indians the lands lying west of the line. By this proclamation the white man was shut out from all the land lying between the Alleghanies

and the Mississippi. The colonists were greatly displeased by the proclamation, for it gave to the Indians the largest and best part of the territory that had just been taken from the French. If the King's plan had been carried out English civilization would have been confined to the seaboard, and one of the richest and fairest regions of the earth would have been permanently reserved as a hunting-ground for Indians and a lair for wild beasts.

But the King's plan was never carried out. His proclamation came too late to secure the good will of the red men. Before his purposes were made known to the Indians, they had entered into a conspiracy to drive every Englishman out of the Ohio valley. The leader of this conspiracy was Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas. In the spring of 1763 Pontiac and his followers made their attack. They fell upon the whites who had moved out into the Ohio valley, and hundreds of families were murdered and hundreds of homes were burned. But Pontiac was soon brought to terms. In 1764 an English general led a body of troops into the heart of the Indian country, and the savages were defeated. Pontiac for a while continued to fight, but at last (in 1766) he was compelled to submit to the rule of the English.

Early Settlements in the Upper Ohio Valley. After the defeat of Pontiac, pioneers moved out into the western country in greater numbers than ever before. In 1765 they laid out ground for the town of Pittsburgh. Many settlers found homes in the Monongahela valley. By 1770 about fifteen hundred whites were living in the country between the Ohio and the Monongahela rivers. Among the first pioneers to seek homes across the mountains were the Scotch-Irish, who, as we have already learned (p. 86), began at an early date to press westward in Pennsylvania. In 1769 a "God-fearing, Bible-loving Scotch Presbyterian" named Ebenezer Zane built a house at the mouth of Wheeling Creek and laid the foundation of the city of Wheeling.

Kentucky. But the part of the Ohio valley to which pioneers at this time went out in greatest numbers was the

stretch of country now included within the borders of Kentucky and Tennessee. This region was a neutral hunting-ground for northern and southern Indians. The red men hunted over it, but did not live permanently upon it or claim it as their own. The district, therefore, was a safer place for settlements than were the surrounding regions, where the Indians had permanent homes.



Early Kentucky and Tennessee

In 1769 Daniel Boone, a great hunter and one of the most interesting of American pioneers, left his home on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina, to seek the wilderness of Kentucky. With five companions he passed through the gorges of the Cumberland Gap and reached the blue-grass region — “a land of running waters, of groves and glades, of prairies, cane-brakes, and stretches of lofty forests.”

Boone returned to North Carolina, but not to remain. His restless spirit still yearned for the beautiful banks of far-off Kentucky. In 1773 he sold his farm, and, with his wife and children and about fifty persons besides, started for Kentucky for the purpose of making a permanent settlement there. On the way, however, the party was attacked by Indians — for even in this neutral territory the Indians were sometimes troublesome — and Boone and his companions were compelled to turn back.

But the fame of the Kentucky country was now widespread, and its settlement was near at hand. In 1774 James Harrod of Virginia, with fifty men, floated down the Ohio River in flat-boats, and, ascending the Kentucky River, selected the

present site of Harrodsburg as a place for a settlement and built some cabins. The place was given the name of Harrodstown (afterward Harrodsburg) and was the first permanent settlement in Kentucky. The next year Boone safely reached Kentucky and founded the town of Boonesborough. In 1775, also, the first house was built in Lexington, and two years later the foundations of Louisville were laid. The settlement of the district now went on rapidly, and within a very few



Daniel Boone at Close Range with
an Indian

years more than twenty thousand whites were living within the boundaries of Kentucky.

Tennessee. While Boone and his followers were laying the foundations for a State on the banks of the Kentucky, other pioneers from North Carolina and Virginia were laying the foundations for another State on the banks of the streams that flow into

the Tennessee. In the very year (1769) that Boone visited the blue-grass region, William Bean of Virginia built himself a log cabin on the Watauga River. Pioneers came and settled near Bean, and in a short time several hundred people had their homes on the banks of the Watauga. This Watauga settlement was the beginning of the State of Tennessee.

The Tennessee region belonged to North Carolina, and the people of Watauga depended upon that colony to give them protection and to provide them with a good government. This North Carolina failed to do. It left its little child in the woods to get along as best it could by its own exertions. So the settlers of Watauga did what the settlers of the Connecti-

cut valley had done long before (p. 57). They drew up (in 1772) a plan of government — a written constitution — and proceeded to govern themselves. And the records show that their government was effective and that their justice was swift. In one case a horse-thief was arrested on Monday, tried on Wednesday, and hanged on Friday of the same week. The "Articles of the Watauga Association" — as the rude constitution of the backwoodsmen was called — was the first written constitution ever adopted west of the Alleghany Mountains, and the first ever adopted by American-born freemen.

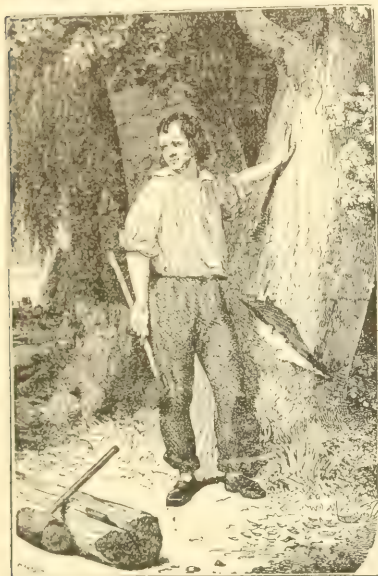
Thus, within a few years after the French were driven out of the Mississippi valley, pioneers from the English colonies found their way over the mountains and began settlements that in time grew to be great States. For the settlements of Harrod and Boone were the beginnings of Kentucky, while the log cabin of William Bean was the beginning of Tennessee.

Life in the Backwoods. The pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee lived the life of the backwoods in a world by themselves. They were completely cut off from the homes they had left behind them, for as yet there were no roads leading from the seaboard to the West. The loneliness and dangers and hardships of the backwoods have been well described for us by Philip Doddridge, who was himself a backwoodsman. From the writings of this pioneer we learn how different the life of the backwoodsman was from the life we lead to-day.

"Let the imagination," says Doddridge, "pursue the track of the adventurer into the solitary wilderness. He ascertains the cardinal points of north and south by the thickness of the moss and bark on the north side of the ancient trees. His restless eye catches everything around him. In an unknown region and surrounded with dangers, he is the sentinel of his own safety and relies on himself alone for protection. The toilsome march of the day being ended, at the fall of night he seeks for safety some narrow hollow and by the side of a

large log builds a fire, and after eating his coarse and scanty meal, wraps himself up in his blanket and lays him down on

his bed of leaves with his feet to the little fire, while his faithful dog and gun repose by his side.



An American Backwoodsman

“The pilgrim of the wilderness was an exile from the warm clothing and plentiful mansions of society. His homely woodsman’s dress soon became old and ragged; the cravings of hunger compelled him to sustain from day to day the fatigues of the chase. Often had he to eat his venison, bear meat, or wild turkey without bread or salt. He did not know at what tread his foot might be stung by a serpent; at

what moment he might meet with the formidable bear; or, if in the evening, he knew not on what limb of a tree over his head the murderous panther might be perched to drop upon him and tear him to pieces. A broken limb, a wound of any kind, or a fit of sickness in the wilderness without those accommodations which wounds and sickness require, was a dreadful calamity.”

The pioneer’s home was a rude cabin made of unhewn logs, and usually the cabin was a one-story affair. The table was a thick heavy board set on four wooden legs; the only chairs were three-legged stools. The tableware consisted of wooden dishes. The bedstead was made of rough poles, and the hides of animals served as bed-clothes. Most of the pioneer’s clothes were made of skins.

Every pioneer was a soldier, for there was always danger

of war with the Indians who were lurking round about with mischief in their hearts. "Although," says Doddridge, "there was no legal compulsion to the performance of military duty, yet every man was expected to do his full share of public service. If he did not do so he was hated as a coward."

The life of the backwoodsmen was indeed one of hardship and danger and suffering; but it was a life that made men strong and brave and free. We shall see that some of America's greatest men spent their early days in the backwoods country of Kentucky and Tennessee.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why were the Indians in the Ohio valley afraid of the English? What attempt did the English make to live on terms of peace with the Indians? Tell the story of Pontiac.
2. What early settlements were made in the upper Ohio valley?
3. Tell the story of Boone and the early settlement of Kentucky.
4. Give an account of the settlement of Tennessee.
5. Describe the life led by the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1522, 1643, 1763.
2. Persons: Roger Williams, James Oglethorpe, Marquette, La Salle, Washington, Franklin, Braddock, Wolfe.
3. Tell what you can about the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Discovery and Exploration; The Westward Movement; Indians; Agriculture; Indians and Indian Wars.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Pontiac's Conspiracy: Parkman, 473-478.
 - (2) Daniel Boone and the Founding of Kentucky: The Westward Movement, 69-81.
 - (3) The Story of Pontiac: Whitney, 53-110.
 - (4) Heroines of the Westward Movement: Bruce, 115-156.
 - (5) Daniel Boone, Backwoodsman: Faris, 37-50.

XIX

THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE COLONIES QUARREL

At the time the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee were building their first cabins in the wilderness beyond the Alleghanies, the colonists along the seashore were engaged in a bitter quarrel with the mother country. What led to this quarrel between Great Britain and the colonies? What efforts were made to settle the quarrel? What acts of violence made a settlement impossible?

The Quarrel About Taxation. The ink on the treaty of Paris (p. 105) was hardly dry before there arose between England and her colonies a bitter quarrel, and the quarrel led to a bitter war. The trouble arose over the matter of taxation. At the close of the French and Indian War the English government found itself very heavily in debt and hard pressed for money, and in casting about for means of raising money it very naturally turned to the American colonies. These colonies, said the King and Parliament, are protected by England at a great expense, and they must help to pay for the cost of that protection; they must pay a share of the taxes. But the taxes that the English government wished to collect from the colonists were all to be spent in the colonies. It was not the purpose of England to tax Americans for the benefit of Englishmen. All the money raised by the proposed taxes was to be spent in the colonies for their own benefit.

There was nothing unfair in asking the colonies to share in meeting the expenses for their own protection; and if the English government had gone about raising the money in a way that seemed to the Americans to be fair, the taxes would probably have been paid and there would have been no quarrel. But it did not do this. In its efforts to collect the money the English government acted so unwisely that it seemed to the Americans to be acting unfairly and unjustly.

Writs of Assistance. Even before the close of the French and Indian War, England had offended the colonists by harsh methods of carrying out the revenue laws. For many years there had been a great deal of smuggling; that is to say, foreign goods that ought to have paid taxes were brought into the colonies in a secret manner and no taxes were paid. Smuggling was so

Pro Patria
The first Man that either
distributes or makes use of Stamp
Paper, let him take Care of
his House, Person, & Effects.
Vox Populi;
We Dare

A Warning

common that it was carried on almost everywhere by almost everybody. Even high officers of government shared in the profits of smuggling. In order to stop the unlawful practice the English government in 1761 issued what was known as "writs of assistance." A writ of this kind enabled the revenue officer to enter private houses and search for smuggled goods. The writs were very unpopular and were deeply resented by the colonists. In Massachusetts they were opposed by James Otis in a speech of such eloquence and power that it was regarded as the opening gun of the Revolution; for America was now on the eve of a revolution.

The Stamp Act. Far worse than the writs of assistance was the Stamp Act, which Parliament passed in 1765. This law undertook to compel the colonists to place government stamps on documents such as promissory notes, deeds, mortgages, and wills, and also on such publications as newspapers, pamphlets, and almanacs. The stamps were to be sold at prices varying from a halfpenny (one cent) to ten pounds (fifty dollars). Newspapers and almanacs that were not properly stamped were not to be circulated or sold, and legal documents without the stamps were to have no value.

"No Taxation Without Representation." When the

news reached America that the Stamp Act was to be put into effect, the colonists at once began to fight it. In Boston the stamp commissioner — the officer who was to sell the stamps — was hung in effigy and his office torn down. In Virginia,



Samuel Adams

Patrick Henry hurried through the Assembly a resolution declaring that the people of Virginia need not pay taxes that were not ordered to be paid by their chosen representatives. "No taxation without representation" became the popular cry and fiery protests against the Stamp Act were made in every colony.

The most powerful protest against the Stamp Act was made by the Stamp Act Congress, which met in New York in October, 1765. This Congress was composed of delegates from nine colonies — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. After discussing the subject for three weeks the Congress declared — and sent copies of the declaration to the King and Parliament — that the colonies could not be taxed internally — that is, the people of a colony could not be taxed directly — unless they were represented in the British Parliament. It then went on to express the opinion that it was impossible for the colonies

to be represented in the British Parliament. This was as much as to say that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies at all. And that is what the colonists really meant.

English Friends of America. In this quarrel about taxation some powerful leaders in England were on the side of the Americans. Lord Camden, a member of Parliament, said: "My Lords, you have no right to tax America. The natural rights of man and the immutable laws of nature are with that people." William Pitt (p. 104), another member of Parliament, said in the House of Commons: "Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted." The great Edmund Burke also was opposed to taxing the Americans. He said that Parliament had the *right* to tax the colonies, but that it was foolish to attempt to *exercise* the right.

Burke spoke the truth. Parliament soon learned that it was useless to try to enforce the Stamp Act. So the measure was speedily (in 1766) repealed. But, along with the repeal, Parliament made a declaration to the effect that it had a perfect right to tax the colonies if it so desired. Such a declaration was unnecessary and unwise, but it was forgotten in the general rejoicing that followed the repeal of the stamp law.

The Townshend Acts. But the repeal of the Stamp Act did not settle the question that had been raised; for the very next year Parliament passed what were known as the Townshend Acts, which provided that taxes should be imposed on glass, paper, lead, paints, and *tea* when these articles were brought into American ports. The money raised by these taxes was to be spent by England in paying the salaries of governors, judges, and other colonial officers. Here was trouble indeed; for, while the colonists did not object outright to paying external taxes, — that is, taxes on imported goods, — they did object to Parliament fixing the salaries of colonial officers and then levying internal taxes with which to pay these salaries. This objection made the Townshend Acts as hateful as the Stamp Act had been.

Samuel Adams of Massachusetts wrote and sent to King

George a petition asking that the acts be repealed. When he had finished the document his daughter remarked that it would soon be touched by the royal hand. "More likely, my dear," he replied, "it will be spurned by the royal foot." Adams knew the King only too well. George III was not disposed to listen to petitions from the colonists; he intended to rule them with a rod of iron if he could. "We shall grant nothing to America," said one of the King's ministers, "except what they may ask with a halter about their necks."

The colonists did not think of giving up the struggle simply because their petition was spurned. They threw all their strength against the enforcement of the Townshend Acts, and forced Parliament (in 1770) to take off the taxes on all the articles except *tea*. This was retained as a matter of principle. "There must be one tax," said Lord North, "to keep up the right." The colonists resisted the tax on tea as a matter of principle. It was a very light tax (six cents a pound), it is true, but the Americans saw clearly enough that if Parliament, by way of taxation, could take a penny from their pockets it could just as easily take a pound.

The Boston Massacre. On the day that Parliament was voting to keep the tax on the tea, there occurred in Boston another event that widened the breach between England and her colonies. This was a shooting affair called the Boston Massacre. For several years George III had kept British troops stationed at Boston, and the presence of the redcoats was very displeasing to the citizens. One night (March 5, 1770) a crowd gathered around a soldier who was on guard in front of the custom-house and began to pelt him. A file of nine soldiers hurried to the aid of their comrade. The crowd stood its ground and threw snowballs at the soldiers and dared them to fire. They fired and killed four men.

Trouble About the Tea; Striking a Blow for Americanism. When the news went out through the colonies that the King's soldiers were shooting innocent citizens in the streets of Boston, Americans were thrown into a fighting mood. They resented more deeply than ever the presence of the British

troops, and were more willing than ever to keep up the quarrel with England. The trouble about the tea became serious indeed. In 1773 ships laden with tea arrived at New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. The tea on these ships, as we have learned, was subject to a tax, but the English government had so arranged matters that if the colonists would only buy they could pay the tax and still get the tea cheaper than they could get it anywhere else. But the colonists would not buy. The ships bound for New York and Philadelphia turned back without landing their cargoes. In Boston the arrival of the tea was followed by an act of downright lawlessness. A band of men dressed as Indians boarded the vessels carrying the tea and threw into Boston harbor the contents of three hundred chests.

The Boston merchants rejoiced when the tea was destroyed; and well they might rejoice, for in its landing they saw loss and ruin for themselves. The English government had given to the company that owned the tea — the powerful East India Company (p. 39) — the right to establish stores in America. Since these stores could sell tea much more cheaply than it could be sold anywhere else, the American merchants were afraid that the East India Company would drive all its rivals out of business and establish a monopoly; that is, it would sell practically every pound of tea sold in America. In opposing the landing of the tea, therefore, the colonists were fighting monopoly. At the same time, they were striking a blow for Americanism. For Americans hate monopoly and they have always set their faces firmly against it.

The "Intolerable Acts." The throwing overboard of the tea at Boston angered England more than anything the colonists had yet done. Petitions and protests and fiery speeches could do little harm, but the wanton destruction of property was serious. Parliament quickly resolved to bring the "Boston rebels" to their senses. It passed what the Americans called the "Intolerable Acts": (1) no ship could enter or leave the port of Boston until the town had paid for the destroyed tea; (2) Massachusetts should be deprived of free government;

colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. No colony was going to stand idly by and see another colony crushed.

But the colonies were held together by no bond of union. The great difficulty, said John Adams, was to get the thirteen clocks (meaning the thirteen colonies) to strike at the same time. The difficulties of disunion, however, grew less as the danger grew greater. One thing that helped to bring the colonies together was the formation of *committees of correspondence*. In Massachusetts, under the leadership of Samuel Adams, such committees were established for the purpose of communicating with the other colonies in reference to measures that the colonists ought to take to protect themselves. Other colonies followed the example of Massachusetts in organizing committees of correspondence, and, largely through the influence of these committees, the colonies were so organized that they could act together, all the thirteen clocks could strike at the same time.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did England after the French and Indian War undertake to tax the colonies? Why did the colonies object?
2. What were the writs of assistance?
3. Describe the Stamp Act.
4. Give an account of the Stamp Act Congress. What English leaders were on the side of America?
5. What were the Townshend Acts? Why was the tax on tea not repealed?
6. Tell the story of the Boston Massacre.
7. Give an account of the trouble about the tea. What principle of Americanism was involved in the trouble about the tea?
8. What were the Intolerable Acts?
9. To what extent did the colonists stand together? What were the committees of correspondence?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1588, 1689 (2), 1763.
2. Persons: Cabot, De Soto, Raleigh, George Calvert, Marquette, La Salle, Washington, Franklin, Braddock, Wolfe, Daniel Boone.
3. Reviews of Great Subjects: Steps in the Formation of the Union; English Colonization; Americanism.

XX

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED

When the English government undertook to carry the Intolerable Acts into effect it found itself opposed by a force of American soldiers. Bloody encounters between the Americans and the British followed, a central government was established by the colonies, and independence was declared.

First Continental Congress. The King at once took measures to carry the "Intolerable Acts" into effect. General Gage was made Governor of Massachusetts, and more soldiers were sent to Boston. The harbor of that city was closed to all incoming and outgoing vessels. This harsh treatment led to the calling of a Congress—known as the First Continental Congress—which met at Philadelphia (September 5, 1774). At this Congress there were delegates from all the colonies except Georgia. Observe how the movement for union among the colonies was gaining strength. In the New England Confederation (p. 59) four colonies were represented; at the Albany Congress (p. 100) seven colonies; at the Stamp Act Congress nine colonies; in the First Continental Congress twelve colonies.

The First Continental Congress declared that no government had the right to deprive Americans of their life, liberty, or property, and asserted that the colonists had every right that an Englishman had. It declared that the colonies could not be taxed, except by their own Assemblies, and it planned for an "American Association," the purpose of which was to prevent the bringing of British goods into the colonies. But the most important thing done by this Congress was to pass the following resolution of sympathy: "That this Congress approves the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts to the execution of the late acts of Parliament [the "Intolerable Acts"], and if the same shall be attempted to be carried

into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition."

Fighting Begins: Lexington; Concord. The country was not long in finding out that England intended to use force in dealing with Massachusetts. By the end of 1774 Gage was throwing up fortifications around Boston, and the streets of the town were resounding with the clangor of British arms. The Americans in the meanwhile were preparing to meet force with force. In the towns around Boston companies and regiments of colonists were forming and men were being drilled for active warfare. Before the winter of 1775 had passed, eastern Massachusetts was bristling with armed troops.

The ring-leaders on the American side in Massachusetts were Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Gage received orders that these two men should be arrested and sent to Eng-



Lexington and Concord

land for trial. About the time they were wanted they were staying at the house of a friend in Lexington, a town a few miles out of Boston. On the night of the 18th of April, 1775, Gage sent out 800 men from Boston to Lex-

ington to arrest Adams and Hancock, giving orders that after the arrest they should march on to Concord and seize some ammunition that was stored there. The British undertook to do everything in secret, but the eyes of the Americans were on them. As soon as it was known that the troops had started, a light in the belfry of the North Church flashed the news to Paul Revere in Charlestown. Revere took horse and galloped to Lexington, shouting as he went that the British were approaching. At Lexington he informed Adams and Hancock, and the two patriots, slipping away, escaped arrest.

When the British reached Lexington at daybreak they found the people in arms. Fifty minute-men — men ready to fight at a minute's notice — were drawn up in battle array on the village green. "Disperse, ye villains," shouted Major Pitcairn, the British officer. The minute-men did not move. Pitcairn's soldiers then fired, killing eight men and wounding ten. The minute-men, seeing the folly of resisting so great a force, dispersed.

At Concord the tables were turned. There the British had to face 400 minute-men, while other patriots were pouring in from every direction. The fighting took place at the Concord Bridge, where

Once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world.

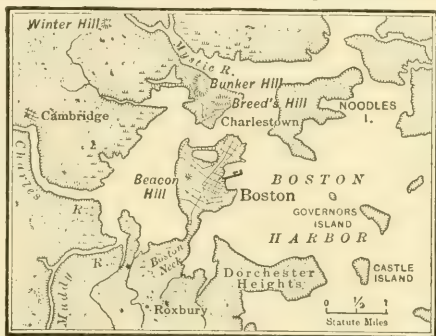
In the battle the British soon had the worst of it and began to retreat to Boston. But the retreat was more disastrous than the pitched battle. All along the roadside minute-men from behind houses and trees and stone fences peppered the flying British, with such deadly results that by the time they reached Boston they had lost in killed and wounded nearly three hundred of their number.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Everybody knew that a bloody struggle had now begun, and wherever a blow could be given it was dealt. Benedict Arnold saw that the Americans ought to have possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point (map p. 137), and he straightway marched against these forts. Their capture had also been planned by Ethan Allen, a dashing leader of the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont. Arnold and Allen, acting together, with a few troops surprised Ticonderoga and demanded its surrender. The commander of the fort inquired of Allen by what authority he was acting. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," replied Allen. The fort had but a handful of men and was compelled to surrender (May 10, 1775). The surrender of Crown Point quickly followed.

Second Continental Congress. On the very day that Ti-

conderoga was taken the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. This time *all* the colonies sent delegates. In this Congress were many of the those great leaders who laid the foundation of our Republic. From Massachusetts came Adams and Hancock, who a few weeks before had escaped from the hands of the British; from New York, Robert Livingston and John Jay; from Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin; from Virginia, Washington and Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee.

The previous congresses had acted like debating societies; they had simply discussed questions and passed resolutions. But the Second Continental Congress began to act like a real government. It put itself into communication with foreign powers; it managed postal affairs; it took charge of the army that was gathering around Boston. Who was to be placed at the head of this army? The man chosen was sitting in the Congress in his uniform, a man whose lofty stature and noble bearing proclaimed him a born leader of men — George Washington. When the choice had been made, Washington rose and said: "Since the Congress desires, I will enter upon the momentous duty and exert every power I possess in their service and for the support of the glorious cause."



Boston and Bunker Hill

Washington hurried northward to the scene of his duties; but before he reached Boston great things had taken place there. A few weeks after the Lexington affair an army of 15,000 colonial troops drawn up in the form of a great semicircle, was pressing in upon Boston with the purpose of compelling the British troops to take to their ships and leave the town.

Bunker Hill. Washington hurried northward to the scene of his duties; but before he reached Boston great things had taken place there. A few weeks after the Lexington affair an army of 15,000 colonial troops drawn up in the form of a great semicircle, was pressing in upon Boston with the purpose of compelling the British troops to take to their ships and leave the town.

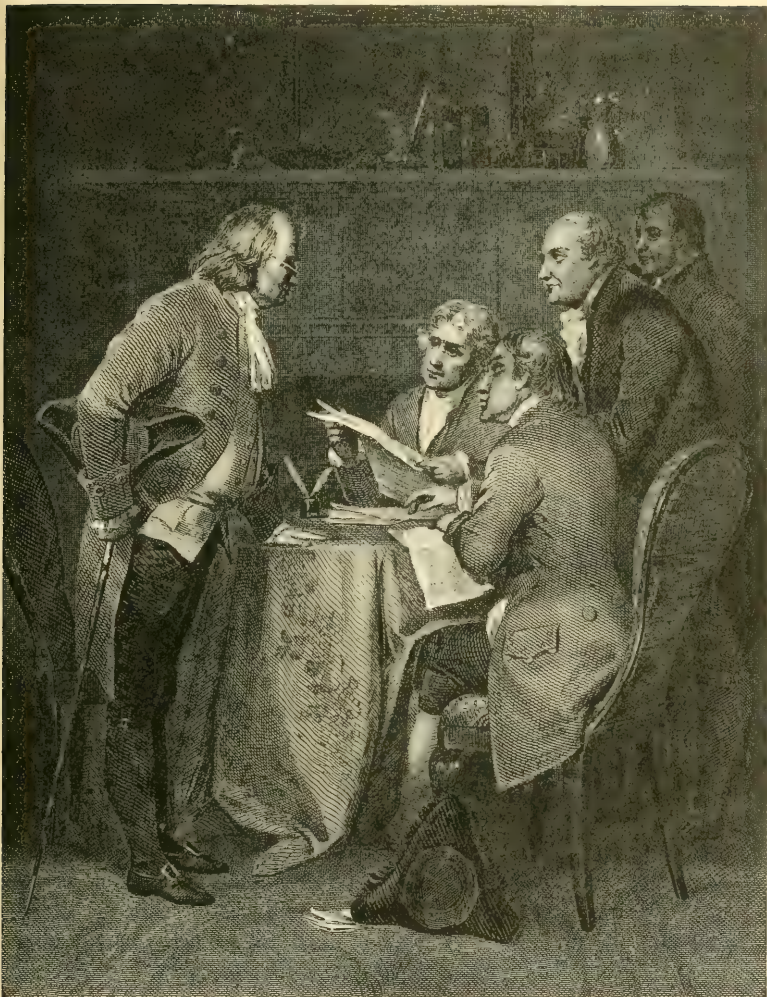
Both the Americans and the British wanted to get possession of the hills around Boston, and on the night of the 15th of June, Colonel William Prescott, with 1200 Americans, made his way silently to Breed's Hill,¹ on the Charlestown peninsula (map p. 125), and began to throw up embankments. Early the next morning the British general, Howe, was on the spot with troops to drive the Americans from their position. Twice the British rushed up the hill, and twice they were driven back with terrible loss. A third attempt was made. By this time the Americans had exhausted their ammunition and could no longer hold their ground. They retreated to the mainland, leaving the British in possession of the field. Though the British won the battle, a few more such victories would have meant the destruction of their entire army, for they lost 1054 men, while the Americans' loss was only 449.

Washington in Charge of the American Army. When Washington arrived in Boston he found an army that was raw and inexperienced, but the news of Bunker Hill assured him that it was an army that could fight. Among its officers were Daniel Morgan, John Stark, Nathanael Greene, Henry Knox, and Israel Putnam. Washington took command at once and began the difficult task of preparing the undisciplined troops for regular fighting.

While Washington was drilling his army and providing it with ammunition and supplies, Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold undertook to capture Quebec. Montgomery advanced by way of Lake Champlain. Arnold led his men through the Maine wilderness. On the way food gave out, and the hunger of the soldiers became such that they devoured their dogs. The two armies joined in the valley of the St. Lawrence and laid siege to Quebec (December 31, 1775). Montgomery was killed and Arnold was wounded. Quebec was not taken and the expedition was a failure.

At the beginning of the spring of 1776 Washington had his

¹ The Americans, in the darkness, mistook Breed's Hill for Bunker Hill, which they had intended to fortify and which gave its name to the battle.



Drafting the Declaration of Independence

army so well equipped and organized that he determined to give battle to the British in Boston. On the night of March 4 he quietly fortified Dorchester Heights (map, p. 125), which overlooked the city of Boston, and on the morning of the next

day General Howe saw plainly that Washington could destroy with shells every British ship in the harbor. If the British should attempt to carry the heights by storm they would probably suffer more than they had suffered at Bunker Hill, for the Americans now had plenty of ammunition. So Howe decided that the best thing to do was to put his men on board the ships and sail away. On March 17 the British army that had so long annoyed the Bostonians sailed out of the harbor, never to return. This was Washington's first stroke in the war, and it was a most successful stroke, for it rid New England of the presence of the English troops.

The Declaration of Independence. When the Americans began to oppose England they did not think of separating themselves from the English nation. Washington said, when he took command of the army (July 7, 1775), that he abhorred the idea of independence, and it is likely that at that time most Americans regarded their trouble with England as only a family quarrel which would cease as soon as the King and Parliament should begin to treat the colonies as the Americans thought they ought to be treated. But by the end of 1775 the colonists began to think of separation and independence. Several causes led to this state of mind: (1) Congress had sent a humble petition to the King asking for a redress of grievances, and the King had refused even to look at the petition; (2) in most of the battles that had occurred the Americans had shown that they could take care of themselves; (3) in January, 1776, Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" was published and scattered broadcast over the land, and the plain, simple arguments of the pamphlet in favor of independence influenced the minds of thousands; (4) George III, unable to secure troops at home, hired German soldiers (Hessians) to shoot down his American subjects.

By July, 1776, Congress felt sure that the American people were in favor of independence, and on the 2d of July it resolved "that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States." This was another step,

John Hancock

Th Jefferson

Ben^g. Franklin

John Adams

Chas. Livingston

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Richard Henry Lee

Robt Morris

Step. Hopkins

Signatures of Some of the Men who Signed the Declaration of Independence

and a most important one, in the formation of the American Union.

The task of writing a formal Declaration of Independence fell upon Thomas Jefferson, a tall, sandy-haired young man of thirty-three, who could "calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin." Jefferson was also a master in the use of English. It has been said that, as Washington was the sword of the Revolution, so was Jefferson its

pen. Jefferson's draft of a declaration of Independence was submitted to Congress, and after undergoing a few trifling changes was adopted on the 4th of July. The wild rejoicings with which the Declaration was everywhere received proved beyond doubt that Congress had made no mistake. The American people desired independence, and for the sake of so great a prize they were willing to pledge "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What event, in 1774, showed that the movement for union among the colonies was growing stronger? What was done by the First Continental Congress?
2. Who were Samuel Adams and John Hancock? What attempts were made to arrest these men? Give an account of the fighting at Lexington and Concord.
3. Give an account of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
4. Name some of the Revolutionary leaders. What was done by the Second Continental Congress?
5. Give an account of the battle of Bunker Hill.
6. Name some of the Revolutionary officers. Give an account of the march of Arnold and Montgomery upon Quebec. What caused the British to withdraw from Boston?
7. Name the causes that led the Americans to declare their independence. By whom was the Declaration of Independence written? When was it adopted? How was it received?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1664, 1763.
2. Persons: William Penn, Washington, Franklin, Braddock, Wolfe, Daniel Boone.
3. Tell what you can about: Life in the Backwoods; the Boston Massacre; the "Intolerable Acts."
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars before 1783; Steps in the Formation of the Union; The French in North America.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Outbreak of War: Hitchcock, 95-101.
 - (2) The Battle of Bunker Hill: Hitchcock, 102-119; Stories of the Republic, 23-50.
 - (3) The Declaration of Independence: Eggleston, 171-174.
 - (4) The Signers of the Declaration of Independence: The Colonists and the Revolution, 157-178.

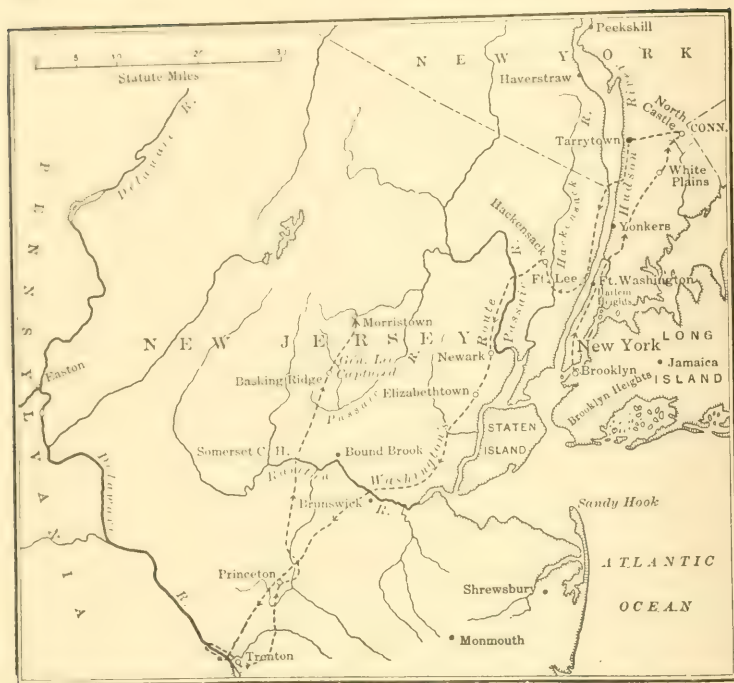
XXI

STRUGGLING FOR INDEPENDENCE

Now that the colonists had declared their independence in words, they were compelled to take up the sword and make their declaration good. The struggle lasted for more than five years after independence was declared. In this chapter will be given an account of the fighting in the earlier part of the war.

British Plan of Campaign. The people of New York were in the midst of rejoicings over the Declaration of Independence when a British army of 25,000 men, under General Howe, landed on Staten Island. It was the plan of the British, after they had been driven from Boston, to secure possession of the Hudson River region and thus to cut the colonies in two. With the Hudson River and Lake Champlain in the hands of the British, New England could be prevented from joining forces with the colonies—or States, as we may now call them—toward the south. The British planned that Howe should take New York and gain control of the lower Hudson, while General Carleton was to come down from Canada, recapture Ticonderoga, and gain control of the upper Hudson. The two armies were finally to meet at Albany.

Battle of Long Island. Washington had foreseen the British plan, and when Howe arrived at Staten Island, near New York, he found the American general already on the ground with 18,000 men, half of whom, under General Israel Putnam, were holding Brooklyn Heights. These heights commanded New York just as Dorchester Heights commanded Boston, and Howe saw that the first thing to do was to drive out Putnam. So he landed his army on Long Island and advanced upon the heights. Putnam sent down 5000 men to meet the British, and the battle of Long Island was fought



Washington's Movements in 1776

(August 27, 1776). The Americans were outnumbered nearly four to one, and were badly beaten. After the battle Howe pushed on to take the heights, but was foiled by Washington, who, under cover of a foggy night, ordered 8000 men to the New York side, and thus saved them from the clutches of the British.

Now began a game of hare and hounds, the American army being the hare and the British army the hounds. Howe, having taken possession of the heights, at once advanced upon New York. After a sharp encounter at Harlem Heights, Washington moved up the Hudson to White Plains. He did not desire a pitched battle because he was so greatly outnumbered. Howe advanced to White Plains. Washington, after a sharp skirmish, retired first to North Castle and then to Hackensack, on the west side of the Hudson.

The Tories. Washington found New York and New Jersey full of Tories — men who did not want independence and who took sides with the King. In every State there were some men of this class. The ships that carried Howe away from Boston had on board nine hundred Tories from Massachusetts. Altogether about one fifth of the people of the States belonged to the Tory class. In the Middle States, however, the class was larger than it was in any other section, and the Tories around New York did what they could to annoy Washington and bring disaster upon the American cause.

Fort Washington and Fort Lee. Washington, in the last months of 1776, besides being annoyed by the Tories, was made to suffer for the blunders of Congress and the bad faith of one of his own generals. Just above New York on opposite sides of the Hudson the Americans held two forts, Fort Washington and Fort Lee. When Washington saw that the garrison at Fort Washington would be unable to prevent the British from passing up the river, he ordered the fort to be abandoned. But Congress ordered the fort to be held. General Greene, the commander, obeyed Congress. Howe stormed the fort (November 12) and captured 3000 Americans. After the capture the Hessians murdered some of the prisoners in cold blood. Washington witnessed this outrage through his spy-glass from Fort Lee, and it is said that when he saw his brave soldiers thus slaughtered "his overwrought heart could bear it no longer, and he cried and sobbed like a child." The surrender of Fort Lee rapidly followed the surrender of Fort Washington.

The loss of these forts was followed by a disastrous act of disobedience on the part of General Charles Lee. This officer had been left at North Castle with 7000 men. Washington sent messenger after messenger to Lee, ordering him to throw his army across the Hudson and join the army of the commander-in-chief in New Jersey. But Lee refused to move until it was too late. When at last he did move he was captured by the British and made a prisoner.

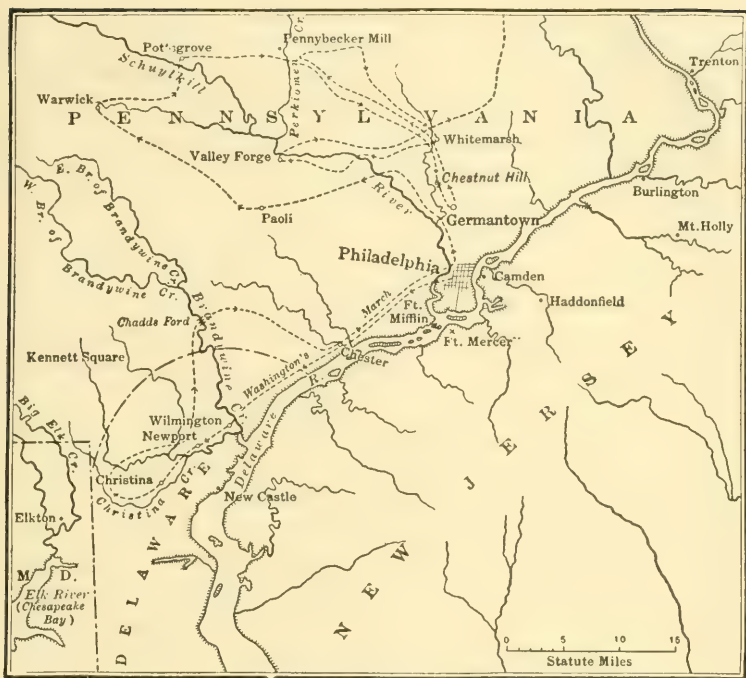
Battles of Trenton and Princeton. The British were now

in complete possession of the lower Hudson, and Washington was forced to beat a retreat across New Jersey, Howe following close upon his heels. On December 8 Washington crossed the Delaware River at Trenton. As his last boat passed over, Howe's army came up; but it could not cross, for Washington on the march had destroyed everything that could float.

It was a gloomy time for the Americans when Washington lay with his little army of 3000 men opposite Trenton. "Ten days more," he wrote (December 20, 1776) to Congress, "will put an end to the existence of our army." Yet before ten days had passed he had struck the British a fearful blow. On Christmas night, when the river was full of floating ice, he recrossed the Delaware, and the next day surprised the enemy at Trenton and took a thousand prisoners.

The British general, Cornwallis, rushed to the scene with a large force. Reaching Trenton at night, he waited until the next day for battle. But he was sure that Washington was at his mercy. "At last," he said, "we have run down the old fox and will bag him in the morning." But in the morning Washington slipped quietly away to Princeton, where he surprised (Jan. 3, 1777) and routed a detachment of the main army of Cornwallis. Washington now moved northward to Morristown, where he found a safe retreat and passed the winter. There had been a hard chase for six months, but the hare had not been caught.

British Capture the American Capital City, Philadelphia. Washington's plan now was to watch Howe closely, annoy him in every way possible, and prevent him from joining the army that was about to march into northern New York from Canada. In June, 1777, Howe started across New Jersey with a large army to take Philadelphia, the home of Congress and the capital of the new-born nation—the United States. He did not go far before he found Washington's army standing squarely in his path. Howe now thought it prudent to return to New York and go to Philadelphia by water. He embarked his troops on a fleet and, finding the



Washington's Movements in 1777

Delaware too well guarded, sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and landed near Elkton, in Maryland.

Washington had followed Howe's movements and was close at hand when the landing was made. At Chadds Ford, on the Brandywine, he gave battle (September 11, 1777) to the British, but was compelled to leave the field to the enemy. Howe now entered Philadelphia with his army. Congress took alarm and fled to Lancaster. Howe stationed his main army at Germantown, a few miles north of Philadelphia. Here Washington again attacked the British (October 4, 1777), but again he was compelled to retreat. After hovering around Howe for several weeks Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

Burgoyne's Invasion of New York; Saratoga. While

Washington was giving his attention to Howe in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the British were going ahead with their plans for invading New York from Canada. In the summer of 1777 General John Burgoyne, who had taken the place of General Carleton, sailed up Lake Champlain, surprised Ticonderoga, and captured it with almost as little ceremony as Ethan Allen had used two years before.

This was a good beginning for the British, but fortune soon ceased to smile upon them. Schuyler, the American commander at the North, had removed all the cattle and provisions along Burgoyne's line of march and had felled trees and destroyed bridges so as to obstruct the movement of the army. The food supply of the British gave out and the troops began to suffer hunger. Burgoyne knew that at Bennington, in Vermont, there were food supplies and ammunition, and to capture these he sent out a large force of men. The British detachment was met at Bennington by John Stark, who had fought at Bunker Hill. Stark said to his men as he went into the fight: "To-night the American flag floats from yonder hill, or Molly Stark sleeps a widow." Mrs. Stark was not made a widow that night, and the British force was captured almost to a man (August 15, 1777).

Burgoyne now began to be pressed by difficulties on every side. He was expecting aid from General St. Leger, who was to land at Oswego and move down the Mohawk valley; but St. Leger had met General Herkimer at Oriskany and had been checked and turned back. Burgoyne also expected to meet Howe at Albany; but Howe was hundreds of miles away, defending himself from the attacks of Washington. The British army was without food and was growing smaller every day.

The American army was growing larger every day. Troops were arriving from almost every direction and were weaving a web around the British. Washington sent Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan with his 500 Virginia sharp-shooters. The British were in no condition to fight, but fight they must. They were in a trap and must get out of it if they could.

Burgoyne, almost in desperation, charged upon the Americans at Saratoga (or Stillwater), but failed to get out of the trap. Eighteen days later the struggle was renewed, but in vain; Burgoyne was compelled to surrender (October 17), and nearly 6,000 soldiers fell into the hands of the Americans. At the time of the battle General Gates was in command. He, therefore, was given the credit of the victory, though the hardest fighting was done by Arnold and Morgan.

Why did not Howe follow the plan that had been mapped out (p. 131) and go north and join his forces with those of Burgoyne? There were two reasons why he did not.

First, through a blunder on the part of the authorities in England, he had failed to receive instructions to march to Albany. Second, Washington was giving him so much trouble that, even if he had started for Albany, he would hardly have been allowed to proceed.

Results of Burgoyne's Surrender. The battle of Saratoga was by far the greatest battle of the Revolution, and it was one of the most important battles ever fought in the history of the world. It was great because it was *decisive*, because it led to so many important results. In the first place, the surrender of Burgoyne completely shattered the plans that the British had laid for the conquering of America. England had failed to drive the wedge through the colonies. In the



Burgoyne's Invasion of New York and Scene of Border Warfare

second place, the victory was a blow to the pride of England. The English government was now ready to give the Americans everything they had asked for except independence. There would be no more taxes on tea; the Americans could have representation in Parliament; and there would be pardon for everybody — if only the Americans would lay down their arms.

But the most important result of Burgoyne's surrender was



The Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga

From an old print published in France.

the effect it had upon France. From the beginning the French looked upon the Revolution with favor and helped the Americans with arms, supplies, and money. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin was sent to France to plead the cause of the Americans. Franklin was known as the great champion of liberty, and he succeeded in winning over the French people "heart and soul" to his cause. The French government, however, for a time held back and took no action. But when the news of Saratoga came, the French quickly acknowledged the independence of the United States and made a treaty of friendship with the new nation (February 6, 1778). According to the terms of the treaty, France promised to help America win its independence, and

she kept her promise faithfully. Many French war-ships and French soldiers were sent to America, and after the treaty was made Americans and Frenchmen fought side by side until the war was ended. "It is seriously to be doubted," says President Wilson, "whether we could have won our freedom without the gallant and timely aid of France."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the British plan of campaign in 1776?
2. Give an account of the battle of Long Island. Describe the movements of Washington in the vicinity of New York.
3. Who were the Tories? Where were they most numerous?
4. What led to the surrender of Fort Mifflin? Of what act of disobedience was Charles Lee guilty?
5. Give an account of the battles of Trenton and Princeton.
6. What movements led to the capture of Philadelphia by the British?
7. Give an account of Burgoyne's invasion of New York. Give an account of the battle of Saratoga. Why did Howe fail to join his forces with those of Burgoyne? What effect did the surrender have upon France?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1607, 1689 (2), 1763.
2. Persons: John Smith, Edmund Andros, Daniel Boone, Samuel Adams, Burgoyne, Franklin.
3. Tell what you can about: Bacon's Rebellion; Life in the Backwoods; the Stamp Act; the Boston Massacre; the "Intolerable Acts"; the Declaration of Independence.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars before 1783; Steps in the Formation of the Union; Treaties; France in North America.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Washington: Faris, 19-36.
 - (2) The Battle of Princeton: The Colonists and the Revolution, 179-184.
 - (3) The Battle of Saratoga: Hitchcock, 120-144; Coe, 88-95.
 - (4) Nathan Hale: The Colonists and the Revolution, 184-193.
 - (5) Benjamin Franklin: The Colonists and the Revolution, 201-207.
 - (6) The Women of the Revolution: Bruce, 81-114.

XXII

VICTORY AND INDEPENDENCE

After the surrender of Burgoyne the War of the Revolution continued for four years longer. In this chapter we shall have the story of the final years of the war, and shall learn of the outcome of the struggle and of the terms of peace.

Valley Forge. We left Washington in Valley Forge, where he quartered his troops during the winter of 1777-78. And a trying winter it was both for the army and for General Washington. Congress had failed to provide tents, food, and clothing for the army, and the suffering of the men was heart-rending. "The unfortunate soldiers," said Lafayette, a young nobleman who had come over from France and had offered his services to the American army, "were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes." The winter at Valley Forge was a trying one to Washington personally, because during that winter a plot was formed to overthrow him as commander-in-chief and to raise Gates, the hero of Saratoga, to his place. Nothing came of the plot, but it grieved Washington deeply to learn that his own officers were planning for his downfall.

One event at Valley Forge proved to be of great advantage to the Americans. This was the coming of Baron Steuben, a German officer who as a volunteer offered his services to Congress and was given a command at Valley Forge. Steuben saw that the ragged regiments of the Americans needed training. So he turned his camp into a military school, and before the winter was over had a well disciplined army.

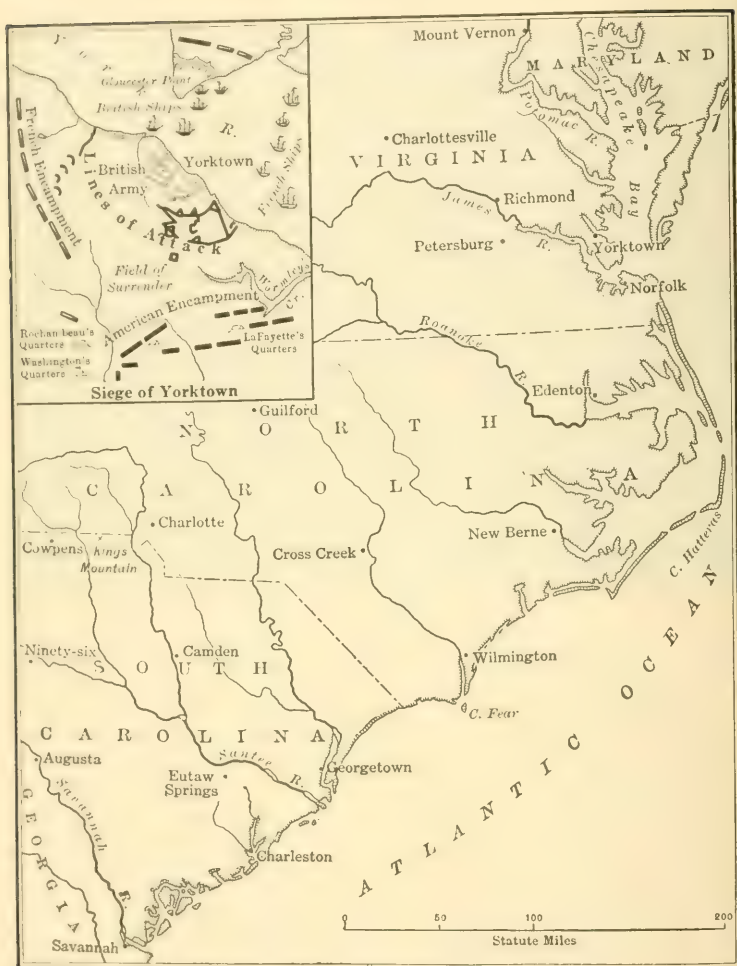
Monmouth. Washington soon had use for his well drilled army. In the spring of 1778 Howe, who really liked the Americans and consequently fought against them half-heart-



Washington at Valley Forge

edly, was removed from command, and Sir Henry Clinton took his place. Clinton at once received orders to leave Philadelphia and lead his forces to New York. But Washington did not intend to let the British make the journey in peace. At Monmouth, New Jersey, he attacked the lines of the marching foe (June 28, 1778). Victory was almost within the grasp of the American army when Charles Lee, who had meantime been returned to the Americans by the British (p. 133), ordered a disgraceful retreat. Washington was able to check the retreat, but he did not hinder Clinton from reaching New York. The battle of Monmouth was disastrous for both sides, and neither side could boast of certain victory. After the battle Washington moved his army up the Hudson and encamped at White Plains, where he remained for nearly three years, watching Clinton and holding him in check.

War on the Frontier. The War of the Revolution was not long in spreading to the western frontier. In the border



The Revolutionary War as Fought in the South

warfare the Indians were generally on the side of the English. In the summer of 1778 a company of Indians and Tories — "Tory Rangers" they were called — swept through the beautiful valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, and left behind them terrible scenes of murder and destruction. A little later

Cherry Valley, in central New York, suffered at the hands of these marauders in much the same way. To put a stop to these outrages General Sullivan was sent against the Tories and their Indian allies; and at Newton, on the site of the present city of Elmira, he met them in battle and punished them severely.

But the most important event connected with the border warfare of the Revolution was the capture of the Illinois country — the Northwest Territory — by George Rogers Clark. Acting in the name of Virginia, this dashing officer, with about 150 men, floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Cumberland, where he struck northward across the country, marching over prairies and through marshes, captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and took possession of the entire region north of the Ohio. Only Detroit was left in the hands of the British.

Naval Warfare. During the Revolution the Americans had no regular navy. Such warfare as they waged on the sea was carried on by private persons. Congress would issue what are known as "letters of marque" to the owners of merchant vessels, and these letters gave captains authority to make war upon English vessels wherever they might be found.

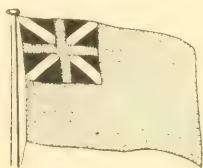
The most famous captain of these privateers was John Paul Jones. With a squadron of three ships this famous sea-fighter harried the coast of England and Scotland, and was a terror wherever he appeared. In 1779 Jones's flag-ship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, fought with the British frigate *Scrapis*. The two ships were lashed together, and the fighting continued until the decks of both vessels ran with blood and until the ships caught fire. In the end the *Scrapis* surrendered. This victory made Jones a hero and caused great rejoicing in America.

The War at the South. New England was as good as lost to England on the day that Washington drove the British out of Boston harbor. The Middle States were as good as lost on the day that Burgoyne laid down his arms at Saratoga. After Saratoga, all that was left for the English to fight for

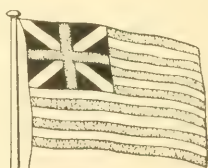
was the Southern States. Late in 1778 England carried the war to the South and captured Savannah.

Little was done in 1779, but the next year the war at the South was begun in earnest. Early in 1780 Clinton and Cornwallis, with 8000 troops, laid siege to Charleston and compelled the city to surrender. All Georgia and South Carolina was now in the control of the British. The conquerors, however, did not have a bed of roses, for in South Carolina there were bands of roving patriots who would dart down a mountain-side or out from a dense wood, strike a blow wherever a blow could be struck, and then disappear as suddenly as they had appeared. Chief among the leaders of these bands were Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter.

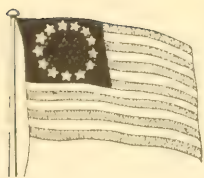
In the summer of 1780 the Americans had an army in the field in South Carolina under Gates. Cornwallis met Gates at Camden (August 15, 1780), where one of the severest battles of the Revolution was fought. De Kalb, who commanded a Maryland regiment, fell bleeding from eleven wounds. Gates himself beat a cowardly retreat, losing all the honors that Saratoga had brought him. The result of the



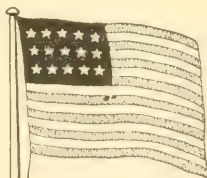
The flag of Great Britain and her colonies, adopted 1707.



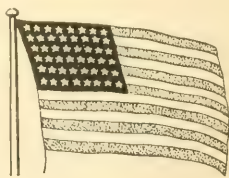
The flag of the United Colonies, January, 1776.



First flag of United States, adopted 1777.



The flag adopted in 1795 (15 stars and 15 stripes).



The flag when it had 45 stars and 13 stripes.

The Evolution of the American Flag.

battle of Camden was a complete rout of the American army.

The news of the defeat at Camden was disheartening enough, but the next month the Americans were to hear something even more disheartening: they were to hear that General Benedict Arnold had turned traitor to the American cause. After his excellent service at Saratoga, Arnold had been put in command at Philadelphia. While there he had been accused of using his official position for purposes of private gain. Washington reprimanded him mildly for his conduct, but forgave him and said to him: "Exhibit anew



Lafayette

those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country."

Washington made these words good by appointing Arnold commander of West Point, on the Hudson. In September, 1780, Arnold repaid Washington's kindness by entering into a plan to hand West Point over to the British. But the plan failed. Major André, the go-between in the plot, was captured, and concealed in his boots were the papers in Arnold's handwriting. André was hanged as a spy, but Arnold managed to escape within the British lines. As the price of his dishonor the traitor received £6000 in gold and a command in the British army.

The bad news about Arnold's treachery was quickly followed by good news from the battlefield in the South. In

October, 1780, the frontiersmen of North Carolina and Tennessee (pp. 109, 110) won a great victory over the British at King's Mountain. In a short time the battle at Cowpens followed. Here the British met Morgan's sharp-shooters and suffered another disastrous defeat (January, 1781). General Nathanael Greene was now in command of the Southern forces, and so successful were his operations that he soon took from the British nearly all the territory they had won in the Carolinas.

When Cornwallis found he could make no headway in the Carolinas, he marched his troops into Virginia, the State that, next to Massachusetts, had done the most to bring on the war. Washington at this time was in the North, planning for an attack upon New York; but he was also keeping a watchful eye upon what was going on in his native State. He had sent down the brilliant and brave Frenchman Lafayette, who met Cornwallis on his entrance into Virginia and gave the British general a chase. "The boy"—Lafayette was then but twenty-three years of age—"can't escape me," said Cornwallis. But the boy did escape him, and when the chase had ended the army of Cornwallis was occupying an unfavorable position at Yorktown, on the peninsula formed by the York and James rivers.

Washington now saw his chance. He gave up his plan of attacking New York and hurried south with his army. On his way he made a short visit to his home at Mount Vernon, which he had not seen for six years. When he reached Yorktown a French fleet under Admiral Count de Grasse was guarding the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. The French and Americans, outnumbering the British two to one, closed in on Cornwallis by land, and the guns of the French fleet made it impossible for him to escape by water. As at Saratoga, so at Yorktown, the British had been caught in a trap, and there was nothing for them to do but surrender. After a desperate resistance Cornwallis gave up his sword and surrendered (October 19, 1781) his entire army of 8000 men as prisoners of war. "O God, it is all over, it is all over!" said Lord

North, when he heard of the surrender. And it was all over. The battle of Yorktown ended the Revolution and gave independence to the United States.

Treaty of Peace, 1783. The fruits of the victory were seen in the treaty of peace, which was concluded at Paris



The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781

From Trumbull's painting. The American officers are on the right, the British officers on the left. General Lincoln (on horseback), representing General Washington, is receiving the sword of General O'Hara, representing Cornwallis.

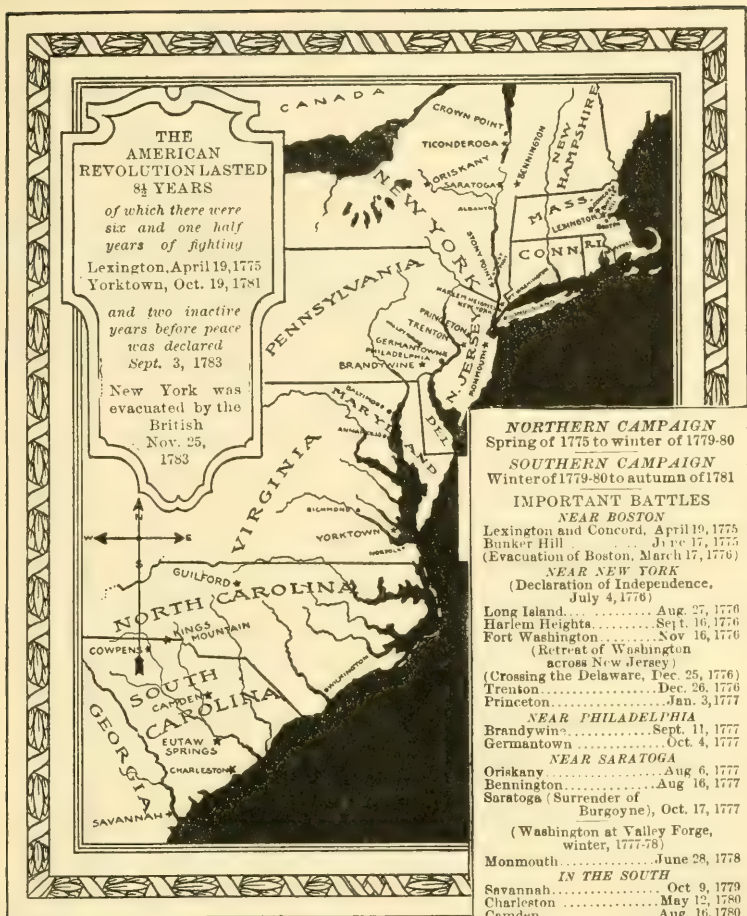
in 1783. By this treaty the independence of the United States was acknowledged. The boundaries of the new nation were to be the southern border of Canada on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and Florida on the south. Americans were given the right to fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and the Mississippi River was to be open to British as well as to American ships. Florida, which by the treaty of 1763 (p. 105) had been ceded to the British, was given back to Spain. Taking it all in all, the treaty of Paris was entirely favorable to the Americans and was a great credit to the three men who carried it through — Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the experience of the American army at Valley Forge. Who was Lafayette? Baron Steuben?
2. Give an account of the battle of Monmouth.
3. What injuries were inflicted upon the Americans by the Tory Rangers? What services were rendered by George Rogers Clarke?
4. What kind of naval warfare did the Americans conduct? What were the naval achievements of John Paul Jones?
5. Who was Marion? Sumter? Give an account of the battle of Camden. Give an account of the treason of Benedict Arnold. What battles did the Americans win in the Carolinas in 1780 and 1781? Give an account of the surrender of the British at Yorktown.
6. What were the terms of the treaty of 1783?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1664, 1763, 1776.
2. Persons: Champlain, Henry Hudson, Samuel Adams, Burgoyne.
3. Tell what you can about: the Patroons; the Stamp Act; the Tories; the Declaration of Independence.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars before 1783; Treaties; Indians and Indian Wars; Claims of Different Nations at Different Times.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Lafayette: The Colonists and the Revolution, 194-200; Coe, 120-130.
 - (2) Paul Jones: The Colonists and the Revolution, 209-220; Coe, 110-120.
 - (3) The Closing Years of the Revolution: Eggleston, 186-190.
 - (4) Yorktown and the Surrender of Cornwallis: Hitchcock, 145-150.
 - (5) George Rogers Clark: Faris, 80-97.
 - (6) The Origin of Our Flag: The Colonists and the Revolution, 225-230.



Total losses of British, killed or wounded, about 9000
 Total losses of Americans, killed or wounded, ab't 8000
 Total cost of the war to British about \$500,000,000
 Total cost of the war to Americans about \$200,000,000

An Outline for a Review of the War of the Revolution

XXIII

A TIME OF GREAT DANGER (1783-1787)

After America broke away from England it became necessary for the new nation to govern itself, and while it was trying to find the best way to do this it passed through a period of great danger. What were the leading events of this period? What problems of government arose and with what dangers was America threatened?

State Constitutions. You have learned (p. 100) that before the Revolution the colonies had very little to do with one another. Every colony was bound to Great Britain by the tie of dependence, but there were no ties to bind one colony to another, no force to hold the colonies together. When the tie of dependence upon England was snapped by the Declaration of Independence, each colony became what was called a "free and independent State," and it was necessary to change the old colonial governments into State governments. To bring about this change, representatives of the people in each State met in a convention, called a constitutional convention, and agreed on a plan as to how the State should be governed. This plan was written out in black and white and was called the constitution of the State. The colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, however, did not form new constitutions, but took their old charters (pp. 58-59) for constitutions.

In drawing up its constitution each State followed its own wishes and its own needs. The constitution of Georgia differed from that of New Hampshire, because the needs of Georgia were different from those of New Hampshire. Yet, while the governments of the States differed from one another, they at the same time bore a strong resemblance to one another. While many people of foreign blood had come into the colonies, they had all become Americans and had been brought up under British customs and had the same notions of government and law. Every State had a government in

which the people had a voice, and the power of government in every State was separated and given to three sets of men: one set to make laws (the legislative department); one set to decide on the meaning of the laws and to declare who are guilty of breaking them (the judicial department); and one set to enforce the laws (the executive department).

The Two Governments. But the Declaration of Independence did not leave the State free to do everything that a government can do — did not leave it free to exercise *all* the powers of government; for the Declaration brought into the world a new nation, the United States, and this new nation had some powers of its own and a government of its own, namely, the Continental Congress (p. 125). This Congress, from the first, did some things a State never did and never tried to do. For example, it conducted a war — the War of the Revolution; it made treaties with foreign nations and it managed the post-office.

At the very beginning of our political life, then, there were two kinds of government at work in the United States: a central government, the Congress, exercising power in respect to war, treaties, and postal affairs; and State governments, exercising power in respect to all other matters. The State government entered the home and prescribed the relations that were to exist between husband and wife, between parent and child, between master and servant; it made laws to regulate business; it controlled all the local governments, counties and cities and towns; it maintained public schools; it administered justice in all ordinary cases and punished all ordinary crimes; it prescribed the qualifications of voters and conducted elections. Thus, the State governments had many things to do.

Articles of Confederation. The statesmen of the Revolution were not long in learning that the central government was too weak to do good work. So in 1781 they succeeded in getting the States to agree to the celebrated Articles of Confederation; and thus another important step in the formation of the Union was taken. The articles increased the power of the central government. They gave Congress the power:



Independence Hall, Philadelphia

Where the Declaration of Independence was signed and where Congress sometimes held its sessions.

- (1) To determine questions of peace and war.
- (2) To attend to foreign affairs of every kind.
- (3) To manage Indian affairs.
- (4) To call upon the States for their share of the expenses of the central government.
- (5) To settle disputes between States concerning boundaries.
- (6) To establish and regulate post-offices.

For the carrying of these powers into effect the Articles of Confederation provided a very poor form of government. Instead of providing for a government of three departments, such as the States had, they provided for only one department, the legislative department, Congress. In the Congress the voting was done by States, each State having one vote. Under this arrangement the smallest State had as much power as the largest. In the exercise of its powers Congress was completely at the mercy of the States. If it passed a law, it depended upon the States to carry the law into effect. It could not, with its own officers, go to the individual citizen, lay its hands upon him, and compel him to obey its laws, and punish him if he disobeyed them. Moreover, Congress lacked real power in respect to taxation. It could ask a State for taxes, but it could not compel a State to pay them.

As long as the war with England continued, the Articles of Confederation served a useful purpose; but when peace came and common danger no longer spurred the people to united





THE UNITED STATES

After the Treaty of 1783

Showing the claims of the older States to the Western Lands.

The Territory of the Thirteen Original States after claims had been ceded is tinted.

The Claims to the Western Lands are shown in border tint of the same color as the claiming State.

States having no claims are colored thus:



action, the Articles were seen to be only a rope of sand. The history of the United States from 1783 to 1787 is little else than a tale of disgraceful happenings due to the weakness of the central power. The United States could not keep its treaties with the foreign countries; it could not pay its debts; it could not keep peace between the States. Congress lost the respect of the country, and statesmen did not care even to attend its meetings. On one occasion the members of Congress were chased out of Philadelphia by a handful of drunken soldiers clamoring for their pay.

Even within the separate States there were disorders and violence. People everywhere were heavily in debt, and in some States, when the courts ordered the sheriff to sell property for the purpose of paying debts, there were riots and mobs. In Massachusetts there was open rebellion. Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army, brought about a thousand men together and for six months (1786) defied the authority of the State. Shays's Rebellion—as the uprising was called—was finally quelled, but it lasted long enough to show the unhealthy condition of affairs.

By 1786 the Union was on the point of going to pieces, and it would have done so had it not been for two things. In the first place, the people were afraid of disunion. They saw that if the central government were allowed to perish utterly there would be scattered along the Atlantic coast thirteen weak little nations instead of one strong one. Each State would be to every other State a foreign country. In matters of government Connecticut would be no more to Massachusetts than that State would be to France. And what would such disunion mean? It would mean confusion and jealousy and all kinds of bickerings and strife. Indeed, it might mean to each State the loss of its independence; for if the States should fail to hold together England or some other powerful nation might pounce down upon them and conquer them one by one.

In the second place, the States did not wish to lose through disunion their property interest in the great Northwest Terri-



Soldiers Attacking the Congress

tory, a region that included what are now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. The United States, by the treaty of 1783, had come into possession of this vast region. Four States had laid claim to portions of the Northwest Territory, but in order to secure the adoption of the Articles of Confederation one State after another had given up its claim, and by 1786 the whole territory (with the exception of a small slice claimed by Virginia and a small slice retained by Connecticut) had passed under the control of the United States. The Northwest Territory, therefore, became our national domain, a great tract of land belonging to the government of the United States. Congress controlled the selling of these lands, and the States saw that if they would only hold together they would all share in the proceeds of the land sales, for the money would all go into the treasury of the United States. If, on the other hand, the Union should be broken, most of the States would be shut out from all interest and claim on the western lands. So the possession of the Northwest Territory by Congress proved to be a powerful reason for holding the Union together.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How was the government of a colony changed to a State government? In what respects were the governments of a State alike?
2. What two governments were in operation when independence was declared? Name the powers of the central government at this time; name the powers of the State at this time.
3. Name the powers of the central government under the Articles of Confederation. In what respects were the Articles weak? What events showed plainly the weakness of the government under the Articles? Give an account of Shays's Rebellion. What two things held the Union together?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1620, 1776, 1781, 1783.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Americus Vesputius, John Winthrop, James Oglethorpe, Samuel Adams, Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis.
3. Tell what you can about: The Line of Demarcation; the Pilgrims; the Puritans; the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish; the Stamp Act; the Tories; the Declaration of Independence; the Treason of Benedict Arnold.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Government; Wars before 1789; Treaties; The European Background.
5. Reading Reference: Read John Fiske's *A Critical Period of American History*. Also, A. C. McLaughlin's, *The Confederation and the Constitution*.

XXIV

FORMING A MORE PERFECT UNION

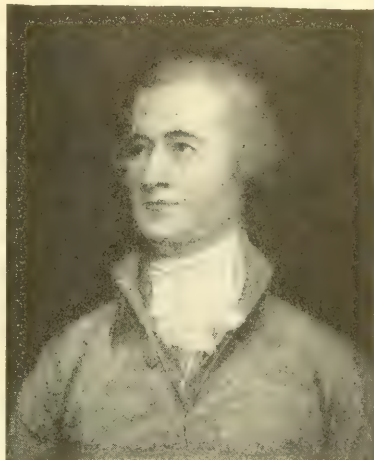
In the last chapter you learned that under the Articles of Confederation the Union became so weak that there was danger of it falling to pieces. But the statesmen of the time came together and drew up a new Constitution, which provided for a new form of government and for a more perfect union. What kind of government did the new Constitution establish?

Constitutional Convention of 1787. Before it was too late the great men of the country began to take steps to secure the blessings of union and to cure the evils of disunion. In 1787 a Convention, representing all the States except Rhode Island, met in Philadelphia for the purpose of so revising the Articles of Confederation that the central government would have more power. In this Convention were many of the best men America possessed. Washington was the chairman. Along with Washington from Virginia came James Madison, a man deeply versed both in the learning of books and in the ways of men. From New York came Alexander Hamilton, who in all things stood shoulder to shoulder with Washington and who was regarded as one of the greatest men of his age. Massachusetts sent Elbridge Gerry and Rufus King, the former a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the latter one of the ablest statesmen of his time. Connecticut sent Oliver Ellsworth and Roger Sherman, jurists of the highest rank, the latter a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Among the representatives of Pennsylvania was Benjamin Franklin, the oldest man in the Convention and in some respects the greatest.

Work of the Convention. The men of the Convention started out with the purpose of merely revising the Articles

of Confederation; but they soon decided that the Articles were so worthless that they could not be patched up and that an entirely new government was necessary. So they boldly set about laying the foundations of a new political system.

They determined that the government under the new Constitution should have three great departments: a legislative department, an executive department, and a judicial department. The Legislature, or law-making department, was to be a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. In the Senate, each State, whether large or small, was to have two Senators, who were to be elected by the State legislature. In the House of Representatives the States



Alexander Hamilton

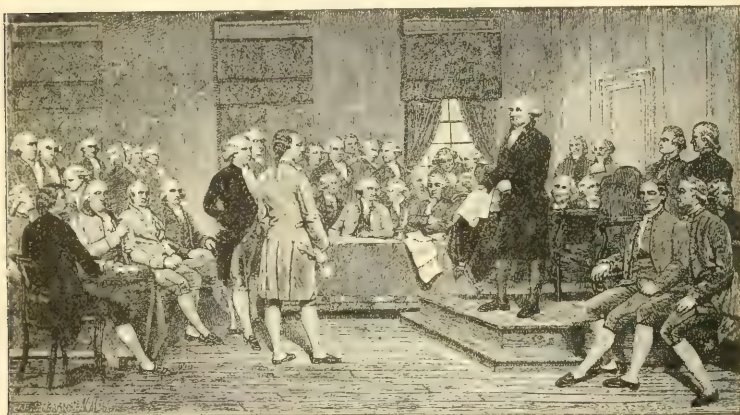
were to be represented according to population. In the first Congress that was to meet, a State was entitled to one Representative for every 30,000 inhabitants. The Representatives were to be elected directly by the votes of the people.

Under the Articles of Confederation, you remember, there was no separate executive department, and for this reason the central government under the Articles was very weak. But the men of the Convention were determined that the government under the Constitution should be strong. So they established an executive department and placed a President at its head. The President was to be chosen by Presidential electors, each State to have a number of electors equal to the combined numbers of Senators and Representatives to which it was entitled in Congress. The President was given power to carry the laws of Congress into effect.

In order to make the new government complete the Con-

vention established a judicial department, at the head of which was the Supreme Court of the United States. The judges of this court were to be appointed by the President. But they were to be independent of the President, and of Congress also; for they were to hold their offices for life, and their salaries were never to be decreased, although they might be increased if Congress so desired.

What powers did the men of the Convention give to this



The Constitutional Convention

new government? In what respect was the central (national) government under the Constitution to be stronger than it had been under the Articles of Confederation? You can find very good answers to these question by reading the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution (p. 480). In this section you find that under the Constitution Congress has all the powers it had under the Articles of Confederation (p. 152) and two very important additional powers: (1) the power to regulate trade between the States and between the United States and foreign countries; and (2) the power to raise taxes and borrow money. So the new government was to be a very strong one. It was to reach the citizen personally, make laws for him to obey, take money out of his pocket for taxes, judge

him and punish him if he violated a law of Congress; and it was to do all these things with its own officers. Moreover, the authority of the new government was to be complete and undisputed, for the Constitution was to be the supreme law of the land.

The men of the Convention worked all through a very hot summer. After a hundred days of toil their task was completed and they signed their names to the new Constitution (p. 487). As the meeting was breaking up, Franklin, in very pleasing fashion, expressed his hopes that the Constitution would be successful. On the back of the great chair in which the presiding officer (Washington) sat there was painted a half-sun, brilliant with its gilded rays. Pointing to the chair, Franklin said: "As I have been sitting here all these weeks I have often wondered whether yonder sun is rising or setting. But now I know that it is a rising sun!"

Ratification of the Constitution. According to its own provisions, the new Constitution could not go into effect unless it was agreed to by at least nine of the States. So, promptly after it was completed, it was sent to the several States for approval. In some of the States it met with fierce opposition. Among its enemies were Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams. These men opposed the Constitution because they believed it created a central government so strong that it would destroy the rights of the State and deprive the people of their liberties. But the Constitution had powerful supporters in every State. Among its friends were Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. These men worked hard for the ratification of the Constitution, and their labors were successful. One by one the States voted to accept the Constitution, and by the end of June, 1788, it had been ratified by nine States. So the plan of government drawn up by the Convention of 1787 became the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution under which we live to-day. The ratification of the Constitution was the last and by far the most important step taken in the formation of the Union.

End of the Confederation. As soon as it was certain that

the Constitution had been ratified, the Congress of the Confederation took the steps necessary to put the new government into operation. It ordered that the States should choose Presidential electors on the first Wednesday in January, 1789; that the electors should vote for President on the first Wednesday in February; and that the new Congress under the Constitution should meet in New York City on the first Wed-



The Nine Pillars of the Constitution

nesday in March, which happened to be on the fourth of the month. After having made these arrangements for starting off the new government, the old government under the Articles of the Confederation came to an end.

Safeguarding the Rights of the States and the Liberties of the People. The new federal government had hardly been started before some very important amendments were added to the Constitution. The people were afraid that the new central government might prove to be a giant that would crush the rights of the States and deprive citizens of their liberties. So the first ten amendments (pp. 487-489) were adopted as a safeguard to personal freedom and the rights of the States. You ought to read these amendments carefully, for they breathe the spirit of true Americanism. Among other things, they provide that Congress can make no laws interfering with the freedom of speech and of the press, or with the right of citizens to assemble in a peaceable manner, or with their right to petition the government. Since these rights are also guaranteed by the States, they are enjoyed by the whole body of American citizens. The American citizen is free to write and speak on any subject, and is free to print and pub-

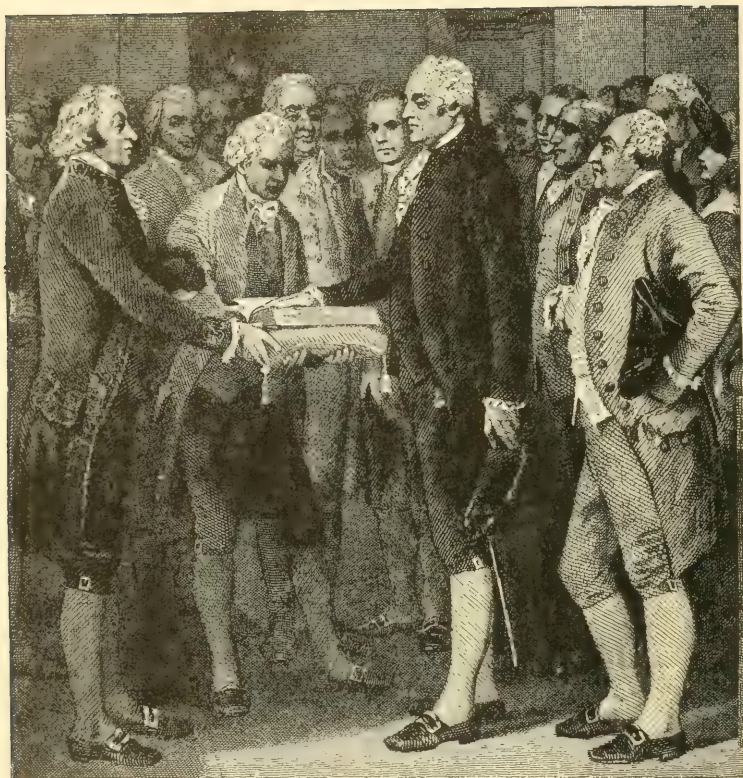
lish his sentiments and thoughts on any subject, provided he does not abuse the privilege. Citizens may hold meetings at which any one is free to express his views and declare his purposes fully and freely. Such meetings, however, must not lead to violence and their purposes must be lawful. A meeting held for the purpose of taking steps to overthrow the government would be unlawful and would be broken up by the police. Citizens also have the right of petition. If you think your government should follow a certain course of action you have a right to make known your wishes to the officers of government; but you may not ask your government to do something which it would be unlawful for it to do, and in making your petition you must do nothing disorderly. This heritage of freedom which our statesmen secured for us at the very beginning of our national existence is so precious that we ought to hold it "beyond all price, dearer to us than our lives."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.
2. Describe each of the three great departments of government provided for in the Constitution. What were the powers of the new government under the Constitution? Relate the story told of Franklin.
3. Tell the story of the ratification of the Constitution.
4. Give an account of the ending of the old Congress of the Confederation.
5. Why were the first ten amendments added to the Constitution?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1643, 1776, 1781, 1783.
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, Roger Williams, Marquette, La Salle, Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis.
3. Tell what you can about: the Tories, the Treason of Benedict Arnold; the Northwest Territory.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Government; Steps in the Formation of the Union; Wars before 1783; Commerce; Americanism.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) How the Framers of the Constitution Traveled: McLaughlin, 70-71.
 - (2) The Federal Convention in 1787: McLaughlin, 80-81.
 - (3) The Adoption of the Constitution: Eggleston, 194-220.
 - (4) Read in the class: *The New Roof*, Hart, 178-180.



The Inauguration of Washington

XXV

LAUNCHING THE SHIP OF STATE

As soon as the Constitution was agreed to by the States, the leading men of the country promptly organized a new government, and within a few years the foundations of a new political system were fairly established. Who were the men that laid these foundations? What problems did the new rulers have to face, and how did they deal with these problems?

Washington the First President. Who was to be the first President of the United States under the new Constitution? Everybody felt that the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen" ought to be placed at the head of the new government. When the Presidential electors (p. 160), therefore, cast their ballots in January, 1789, for the first President, every vote went for George Washington. Washington at the time was in retirement at his home on the banks of the Potomac, where he longed to spend the rest of his days in peace. He could not, however, turn a deaf ear to the call of his countrymen. When notified of his election, he started at once for New York, where Congress was in session. On his journey northward the people everywhere came out to meet him and to bid him God-speed in the great work he was about to undertake.

In New York, on April 30, 1789, in the presence of a vast multitude, he took the oath of office. The people shouted, "Long live George Washington, the President of the United States!" and our nation began its life anew.

The Organization of the New Government. One of the first things Congress and the President had to do was to organize the new government along the lines laid down by the Constitution. Congress at once created three great executive departments for the transaction of the government's business:

a department of foreign affairs, a department of finance, and a department of war. The heads of these departments were appointed by the President, and in making his selection Washington aimed to get the very best men that could be found. For the Secretary of State—as the head of the department of foreign affairs was called—he chose Thomas Jefferson; for the Secretary of the Treasury—as the head of the department of finance was called—he chose Alexander Hamilton; for the Secretary of War he chose General Henry Knox. As the law officer of the new government Edmund Randolph was appointed, with the title of Attorney-General. These four men made up Washington's cabinet. Congress also provided at once for the organization of the new national courts. The first Supreme Court was made to consist of the Chief Justice and five associate justices. For the Chief Justice, Washington chose John Jay of New York.

The new government was now fully organized to do business. There were the Senate and House of Representatives to make all needful laws; there were the President and his cabinet to carry these laws into effect; and there were the



Celebrating the Ratification of the Constitution in New York City

national courts to try cases that arose under the laws of the United States.

Raising Money for the Support of the New Government.

The thing most needed by the new government was money. It needed money not only for its running expenses, but also for the payment of the interest on its debts. The new Congress, therefore, began to plan for a revenue even before it attended to the matter of organization. It laid a *tariff*, or tax, on foreign imports. The chief articles taxed were glass, tin, salt, tea, sugar, and wine. Under the old order of things, the States received the taxes on foreign imports; but under the Constitution the taxes on imports were to be turned into the treasury of the United States. The wisdom of this was seen at once. The tax on imports was soon bringing in \$200,000 a month. The government of the United States was no longer a beggar (p. 152); it had an independent income of its own.

Measures for raising revenue were quickly followed by measures for paying off the public debt. There was reason for haste in this matter, for the United States at the time was looked down upon by other countries because it would not or could not pay its debts. Hamilton came forward with a plan to put the finances of the country on a sound footing and to restore the national credit. Hamilton had rendered noble service in securing the ratification of the Constitution, and in the work of launching the new government under the Constitution he was second only to Washington himself. In the fulfilment of his duties as the Secretary of the Treasury he was so successful that "the whole country perceived with delight and the whole world saw with admiration. He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprang upon its feet."¹ Hamilton urged Congress to plan for the payment of the foreign debt (\$12,000,000) and of the home debt of the Confederation (\$42,000,000). In addition, he urged that Congress should take upon itself the responsibility for the payment of the debts that the States had incurred in

¹ From a speech by Daniel Webster.

behalf of the Revolution, debts amounting to about \$21,000,000.

All the members of Congress were in favor of paying the foreign debt and the regular home debt of the Confederation, but there were many members who were opposed to paying the debts of the States. Now, it happened that, while the question of assuming the debt of the States was being discussed, there was going on also in Congress a lively discussion as to where the permanent capital of the nation should be located. Many of the Southern members wanted it on the Potomac; many of the Northern members wanted it at some point farther north. At last a bargain was struck. Hamilton persuaded some of the Northern members to vote for a capital on the Potomac, and Jefferson persuaded some of the Southern members to vote for Hamilton's plan of assumption. So, thanks to the compromise, Hamilton's plan of assumption was carried, and it was agreed that the new capital should be located on the Potomac.

First Bank of the United States. Hamilton also wanted to establish a bank in which the new government would have a direct interest. Such a bank, he claimed, would enable the government to borrow money on easy terms, and would be a safe and convenient place for depositing the funds of the government. The measure was bitterly opposed, but Hamilton was again victorious in Congress, and in 1791 the first Bank of the United States was chartered for a period of twenty years.

The Whisky Insurrection. In 1794 Washington had an opportunity to show that the new government was much stronger than the old one had been. Congress had laid taxes on distilled spirits. In western Pennsylvania the manufacturers of whisky refused to pay the tax, and in resistance took up arms. Washington sent a large body of soldiers against the law-breakers, and the Whisky Insurrection was soon put down. This action of the President showed that the new government was strong enough to secure obedience to its laws.

Beginnings of Political Parties. The discussion of the

bank scheme caused men to divide into two political parties. A great many people thought the new government of the United States ought to do only the things that the Constitution expressly said it might do; and, since the Constitution said nothing about banks, Congress, these people contended, had no right to establish a bank. The men who believed in holding Congress down strictly to the words of the Constitution



The Building in which Washington Was Inaugurated

formed themselves into a political party known as the party of *strict construction*, or the Democratic-Republican party, soon to be known simply as the Democratic party. The leader of this party was Thomas Jefferson.

But many people did not believe in holding Congress strictly to the words of the Constitution. They believed in looking at the Constitution broadly, and thought that Congress had the right to choose all means that seemed to be necessary to carry out the purposes for which the government was established. Those who held these broad, liberal ideas in respect to the meaning of the Constitution rallied around Hamilton, and formed the Federalist party, or the party of *broad construc-*

tion. Thus at the very beginning of our national life the people separated into two political parties.

The French Revolution. In 1793 Washington had to solve a knotty problem relating to the foreign policy of the United States. At this time France was in the midst of a bloody revolution. The common people, who had been unjustly treated for centuries, had turned against their rulers, had beheaded their King, and, taking government into their own hands, had established a Republic. This alarmed the other countries of Europe, and soon the new French Republic was at war with the combined forces of England, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The war, beginning in 1793, continued to rage for about twenty years.

During the greater part of this period Napoleon Bonaparte, the leader of the French armies, was trying to make himself the master of Europe, and England was trying to overthrow him. If, therefore, you wish to understand the history of the United States during the twenty years following 1793, you must bear in mind that throughout nearly the whole of this period Europe was aflame with war and that France and England were fighting each other with all their might. You must also bear in mind that any neutral nation—that is, any nation that kept out of the war—was liable to get into trouble with either France or England, or with both of these countries.

The United States Neutral as Between England and France. In a very short time after the outbreak of the war in Europe the United States had to choose the part it would take in the struggle. Should we remain neutral? Should we help France or should we help England? By the treaty made during the Revolution (p. 147) we were bound to show certain favors to France. Gratitude also prompted us to help the nation that had done so much for us. But the United States was just getting on its feet, and if in its weak condition it should plunge into a war with England it might be wholly destroyed. Washington, after consulting his cabinet, decided that the United States would take the part of neither France

nor England, but would remain neutral. Just about the time he proclaimed neutrality, Genet, the minister from the new French Republic, arrived in America, and, in spite of Washington's proclamation, tried to persuade the people to take up the cause of France. But in this the Frenchman failed. Sober-minded citizens saw that Washington was right and stood by him.

Jay's Treaty. But there was trouble with England as well as with France. England was still holding the Western forts (Oswego, Mackinaw, and Detroit) and was interfering with our commerce. She was also taking our sailors and impressing them into her service in a way that the United States regarded as unfair. Washington was ready to take any fair means to avoid war, and he sent Chief Justice Jay to England to see if this could not be accomplished. Jay negotiated a treaty with England by which the Western forts were to be given up, but which otherwise was not very favorable to the United States. The treaty was very unpopular in America, but Washington signed it (in 1795) because he thought it was better than no treaty at all. The result showed that he acted wisely, for it prevented war, and under its provisions our commerce revived.

Washington was unanimously elected (in 1793) for a second term, and would have been elected for a third term had he not been weary of public life. Near the end of his second term he delivered his famous Farewell Address, in which he gave his countrymen many loving words of advice. He urged them to preserve as sacred the bonds of union by which the different parts of the country were held together, to respect and obey the Constitution, to shun the evils of partizanship, and to avoid entangling alliances with the countries of Europe. When his second term ended he retired to his estate on the Potomac, where he lived quietly and happily until his death (December 14, 1799).

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the election and inauguration of Washington.
2. How did Congress organize the new government? Name the members of Washington's cabinet. Who was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court?
3. In what way did Congress raise money for the support of the new government? What measures did Hamilton provide for paying the public debt? How was the location of the national capital determined?
4. Give an account of the establishment of the first Bank of the United States.
5. Give an account of the Whisky Insurrection.
6. What caused the division of men into political parties? Who was the leader of the Democratic-Republican party? What was the doctrine of the party? Who was the leader of the Federalist party? What was the doctrine of this party?
7. What great event happened in France in 1793? What was Washington's policy in dealing with England and France? What was the mission of Genet?
8. Give an account of Jay's treaty?
9. What advice was given by Washington in his Farewell Address?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1522, 1763, 1783, 1787.
2. Persons: George Calvert, Washington, Braddock, Franklin, Wolfe, Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis.
3. Tell what you can about: the Treason of Arnold; the Northwest Territory; the Convention of 1787; the Ordinance of 1787.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Treaties; Government; English Colonization; The French in North America.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Washington's Presidency: Eggleston, 213-221.
 - (2) Washington at Mount Vernon: A New Nation, 3-16.
 - (3) The Inauguration of Washington: A New Nation, 18-24.
 - (4) Alexander Hamilton, Statesman: Faris, 98-111.
 - (5) Read in the class: Washington's Inaugural Journey: Lane and Hill, 99-101.

XXVI

A WESTWARD MOVING PEOPLE

During the years in which Washington and his fellow statesmen were setting in motion the wheels of the new government the current of American life was running strongly toward the West. Men were leaving the older Eastern settlements and pushing more and more deeply into the Western forests and farther and farther out on the Western prairies. In truth, the history of the United States was for nearly two hundred and fifty years the history of a mighty westward movement which began at Jamestown in 1607 and did not end until the Pacific coast was reached in the middle of the nineteenth century. In studying the history of our country, therefore, we must from time to time turn away from the political affairs of the nation, from the deeds of the President and Congress, to observe the progress of this westward movement and learn how the great wild West was brought under the control of the white man. In this chapter let us learn of the westward movement during the early years of our Republic.

Three New States. The westward movement in colonial times was slow. One hundred and fifty years passed before the Frontier Line (p. 78) was pushed beyond the Appalachian ridge. But after the War of the Revolution the wave of civilization began to move westward at a rapid rate. Settlers from all parts of the world began to rush into the new lands, like hungry cattle into new pastures.

As soon as a district was filled up with a sufficient number of settlers, steps were taken to organize it either as a Territory or as a State. If organized as a Territory it usually passed through two stages of government. In its first stage, when the number of its legal voters was less than 5000, it had no lawmaking body and was governed entirely by the governor, judges, and other officers appointed by the President. When the number of legal voters came to be more than 5000, the

Territory passed into the second stage of government and was given a territorial legislature. When a new community was organized as a State it was admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the other States.

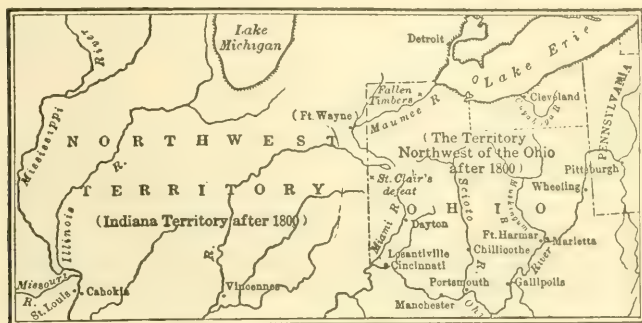
The first State to be admitted into the Union under the Constitution was Vermont, a pioneer community whose settlement we may very well consider as a part of the westward movement. During the Revolution the Green Mountain people had adopted a Constitution and had declared Vermont to be an independent State; but it was not recognized as such, for the reason that the Vermont region was claimed by New York. In 1790, however, New York gave up her claim, and the next year Vermont came into the Union as its first adopted daughter.

By this time there were two communities in the West that deemed themselves worthy of the honor of Statehood. These were Kentucky and Tennessee (p. 109). Within a few years after peace with England had been declared the population of these two settlements was more than doubled. Kentucky originally belonged to Virginia. But after the Revolution the Kentuckians wished to break away from Virginia and become a separate State. After long discussion and agitation their wishes were granted. Virginia consented to the separation, which took place in 1792, when Kentucky came into the Union as the second of the admitted States.

The admission of Tennessee into the Union soon followed. Tennessee originally belonged to North Carolina; but in 1794, under the leadership of John Sevier, it was organized as a separate State, called Franklin, in honor of Benjamin Franklin. But the State of Franklin had only a short life, for North Carolina asserted her rights and the officers of Franklin were driven from power. But North Carolina did not really care to hold this backwoods settlement permanently. In 1790 she offered to give Tennessee over to the government of the United States. Congress accepted the gift, and governed the country as a Territory until 1796, when Tennessee was admitted into the American Union as the sixteenth State.

In the rapid and wonderful growth of Kentucky and

Tennessee we see the first fruits of the westward movement. Here, out of the wild country south of the Ohio, arose, almost overnight, two prosperous, populous, well organized commonwealths, two States of the Union, that at once could hold their heads as high as the oldest and proudest of their sisters.



Early Ohio

Beginnings of Ohio. While pioneers from Virginia and North Carolina were pouring into Kentucky and Tennessee, other pioneers from New England were beginning to float down the Ohio in flat-boats and build their homes on the soil of the Northwest Territory (p. 154). The first community to be built up in the Northwest Territory was Ohio. In 1788 a party of forty-eight New Englanders, the Pilgrim Fathers of Ohio, landed at the mouth of the Muskingum in a bullet-proof



Pioneers from New England on Their Way to Ohio

barge which bore the historic name of *Mayflower*. It was well that the barge was bullet-proof, for white men passing down the Ohio in boats were in constant danger of being shot by Indians lurking along the shore. The *Mayflower* party went



Marietta, Ohio, in 1790

ashore opposite Fort Harmar, where there was a regiment of soldiers. In the winning of Ohio, soldiers and settlers went hand in hand, for everywhere in the Northwest there were Indians, and every acre of land won by the ax and plow had to be guarded and defended by the rifle.

Under the protection of the soldiers, the New Englanders began to fell trees and build houses, and to lay the foundation of Marietta, the oldest of Ohio towns and a place that in the history of the West holds a rank similar to that held by Jamestown and Plymouth in the history of the East. It was now necessary for the Ohio settlers to have a government. The form of their government had already been provided for them by the Ordinance of 1787. This was a law passed by the old Congress of the Confederation just before it passed out of existence. The famous ordinance provided that as the Northwest Territory filled up with people it should be divided into States—not fewer than three and not more than five. Each State was to be governed according to the will of its voters; there was to be no slavery; religious liberty was guaranteed; education was to be encouraged; Indians were to be

treated justly. When a community came to have as many as 60,000 inhabitants it was to be admitted into the Union as a State, with all the rights of the older States; during the time in which a community was too small for Statehood it was to be governed as a Territory.

Such were the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. The law breathed the spirit of freedom, and showed plainly that Western settlers could look forward to fair treatment at the hands of the national government. The Western communities were not to be dependent colonies; they were to be self-governing States.

Under the terms of the Ordinance the Ohio settlement was to be a Territory and was to have a Territorial government. So at Marietta the wheels of Territorial government for the Northwest Territory were set in motion (July, 1788). General Arthur St. Clair, who had climbed the rock of Quebec with Wolfe and who was a warm friend of Washington, had come out as Governor of the Territory.

Cincinnati was founded about the same time as Marietta. In December, 1788, twenty-six settlers landed at the foot of what is now Sycamore Street in Cincinnati, and began to build a town which they called Losantiville, but which afterward received its present name. Other settlements on the Ohio quickly followed those of Marietta and Cincinnati. The towns of Gallipolis, Portsmouth, Manchester, and South Bend all appeared within a few years after the founding of Marietta.

As white men in Ohio became more numerous the red men became more troublesome. In 1791 Governor St. Clair was compelled to march against the Indians; but near the place where the city of Fort Wayne now stands he suffered a terrible defeat. General Anthony Wayne was next sent against the red warriors, and at Fallen Timbers (in 1794) he met them and dealt them a blow that broke their power completely in Ohio and drove them from the country.

With the Indians out of the way, the settlement of Ohio could go on much faster. Towns began to be built farther up the streams and farther inland. In 1795 Dayton and Chilli-

cothe were founded; and the next year General Moses Cleveland, with a few companions, founded, at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, a town to which he gave his name. In 1800 the original Northwest Territory was divided, and the eastern portion — the portion that is now Ohio — was set off as the



Cleveland in 1800

Territory Northwest of the Ohio, and was given a Territorial government of its own. The population of this new Territory was now more than 40,000, and its people were already beginning to think of statehood.

The Frontier Line at the End of the Eighteenth Century. So by the end of the eighteenth century the area of American civilization was spread over a vast amount of territory and the Frontier Line had been carried far to the west. In 1700 the Frontier Line ran very close to the seaboard (p. 80). In 1800 it was beyond the Alleghanies and in some places it ran hundreds of miles west of those mountains. On a map of the United States, beginning at Oswego (New York), draw a line to Cleveland, to Cincinnati, to Louisville, to Nashville, to Savannah, and you will have the Frontier Line at the end of the eighteenth century (see colored map). You will observe that by this time fully half the area of what was then the United States had been brought within the pale of civilization.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the admission of Vermont; of Kentucky; of Tennessee.
2. Tell the story of the settlement of Ohio. What were the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787? What towns in Ohio were built before 1800?
3. Describe the Frontier Line at the end of the eighteenth century.

REVIEWS

1. Dates: 1588, 1564, 1783, 1789.
2. Persons: Calvert, Drake, Raleigh, William Penn, Daniel Boone, Hamilton.
3. Tell what you can about: the *Invincible Armada*; Life in the Backwoods; the Northwest Territory; the Convention of 1787; the Ordinance of 1787; the Whisky Insurrection.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Westward Movement; Treaties; Foreign Relations since 1789; Indians and Indian Wars; English Colonization.

A Suggestion. At this point the pupil may with profit begin the preparation of a table of Admitted States. When from time to time account of the admission of a new State is given the date of its admission, its area, its population, its capital, and the largest city should be written into the table. Such a table would show in an excellent way how our Union has come to be what it is. The table may be prepared according to the following plan:

TABLE OF ADMITTED STATES

Name of State	Date of admission	Area in square miles	Population in 1910	Capital	Largest City
(1) Vermont	1791	9,565	355,956	Montpelier	Burlington
(2) Kentucky	1792	46,400	2,289,095	Frankfort	Louisville
(3) Tennessee	1796	42,050	2,184,789	Nashville	Memphis

XXVII

OUR COUNTRY IN 1800

In the last two chapters you learned of the principal events that occurred during the eight years in which Washington was President. In this chapter let us learn what took place while Washington's successor was President. Also let us take a survey of our country as it existed about the year 1800 and learn what kind of place the United States was at that time.

President John Adams and the Trouble with France.

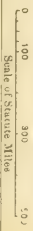
Washington was succeeded (in 1797) by John Adams, who had been Vice-President during the first two administrations. Adams at once found that he was going to have trouble with France. That country felt that it had not been treated justly by the United States, and it showed its resentment in every way it could. It sent the American minister out of the land. It seized upon American vessels wherever it could find them. Adams desired to avoid war if he could, so he sent three envoys to Paris to see if the difference between the countries could not be adjusted. The envoys were told that before they could be received they must pay a sum of money—"much money"—to the agent of the French government, and that the United States must lend money to France to enable her to carry on war against England. The envoys would not listen to such terms and one of them, Charles Pinckney, with much spirit declared: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." These words were taken up in the United States and became a popular cry.¹ The report of the envoys threw the people of the United States into a rage, and a shout went up for a war with France. Preparations for war were made, but Napoleon Bonaparte, then at the head of affairs in France, prevented a formal declaration of war by

¹ The names of the French agents who dealt with the envoys were concealed under the letters X. Y. Z., and these letters have always been used to give a name to this affair.

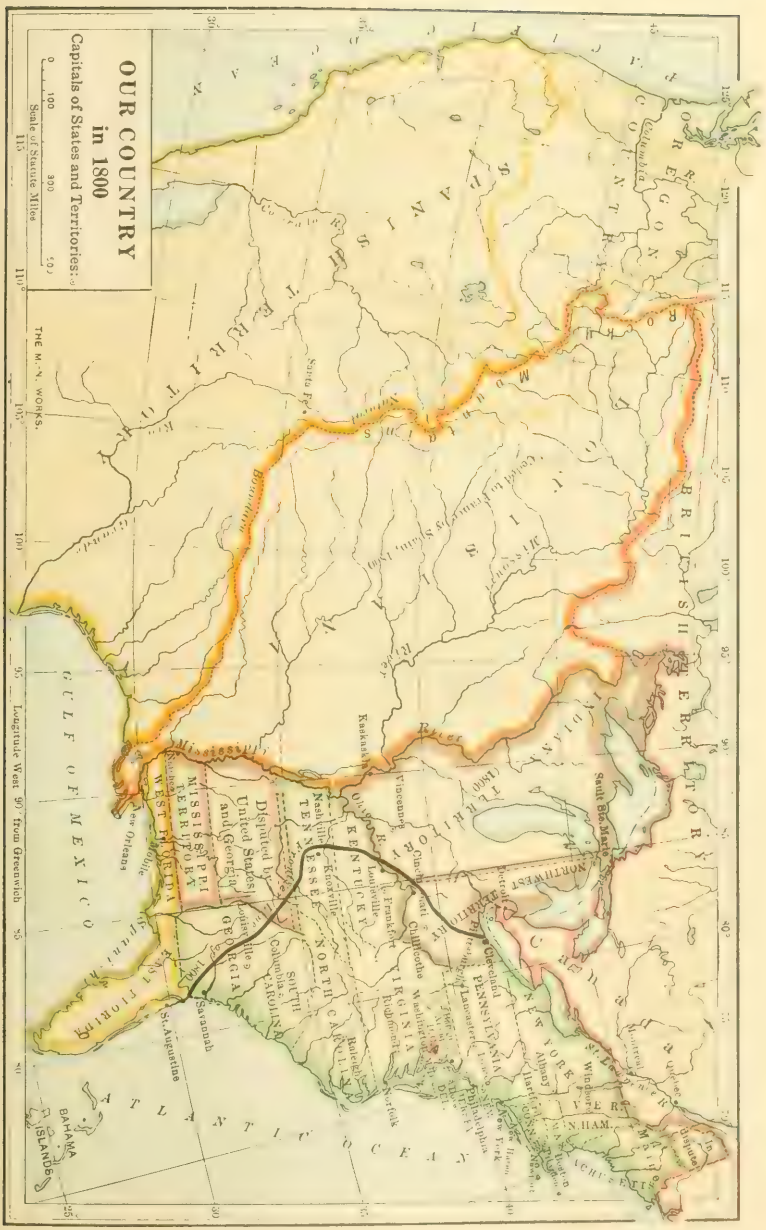
OUR COUNTRY

in 1800

Capitals of States and Territories:—



THE M. & N. WORKS.



ordering French cruisers to let American vessels alone, and by entering into a treaty that was satisfactory to both countries.

The Alien and Sedition Laws. During the French trouble Congress passed the famous Alien and Sedition Laws. The Alien Law gave the President power to drive out of the country, without giving a reason and without holding a trial, any foreigner whom he might regard as a dangerous person. The Sedition Law made it a crime for any one to print malicious writings for the purpose of bringing the President and Congress into contempt. It was felt that the law dealt a blow at freedom of speech and liberty of the press. Neither of these laws was strictly enforced, and very little came of them.

Yet the Alien and Sedition Laws had two very important results:

First, they brought a storm of popular disfavor upon Adams and other Federalists, and helped to defeat Adams for reelection (in 1800) and to drive the Federalist party from power. Second, they called forth the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. These Resolutions declared that the Alien and Sedition Laws were in violation of the Constitution, and that it was the duty of the States to combine and refuse obedience



John Adams

Born in Massachusetts, in 1735; delegate to the Continental Congress; signed the Declaration of Independence; Vice-President, 1789-97; second President, 1797-1801; died July 4, 1826, on the same day with Thomas Jefferson.

to the two laws. The hidden meaning of the resolutions was that if the States desired they could, by combined action, "nullify" or set aside a law of Congress—a doctrine that was to bring much evil upon the country.

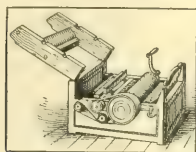
Population: the Chief Cities. About the time the administration of President Adams was drawing to a close the population of the country was increasing by leaps and bounds. One of the provisions of the Constitution is that the people shall be counted every ten years. In 1790, when the first census was taken, the population of the United States was about 3,900,000; in 1800 it was about 5,300,000. Nearly all the people lived in the open country or in small villages. Only one person in twenty lived in a large town or city. In the South, with the exception of Charleston, there were no large cities at all. Philadelphia, with a population of 70,000, was the largest city in the United States, and, in the opinion of a French traveler, one of the most beautiful places in the world. Next to Philadelphia in size came New York, with a population of 60,000. Baltimore ranked third, with 26,000, and Boston fourth, with 25,000. The combined population of all the cities in the country was less than the present population of the single city of Seattle.

Agriculture. In 1800 we were a nation of farmers. More than nine-tenths of the people were engaged in agriculture. The methods employed in tilling the soil were bad. Farmers seldom used fertilizers for improving their land. They tilled a piece of land until it would no longer yield a good crop, then they left it for a fresh piece. "Agriculture," said an observer, "does not consist so much in cultivating land as in killing it." Farm implements were such as had been in use for centuries, and they were of the rudest kind. The plow had a clumsy wooden mold-board, and a clumsier wooden frame. A New Jersey man, in 1797, patented a cast-iron plow, but the farmers would not use it. They said it poisoned the soil and prevented the growth of crops.

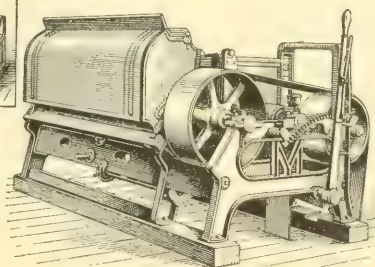
Among the leading products of the farms were wheat, corn, tobacco, cotton, rice, beef, pork, tallow, butter, cheese, cattle

and horses. Wheat, cotton, and tobacco were shipped to Europe in large quantities. In 1802 the tobacco and cotton sent abroad was equal in value to all other farm products combined. The production of cotton in 1800 was increasing at a startling rate. This was due to the success of the cotton-gin, which was invented by Eli Whitney in 1793. Before the appearance of Whitney's machine the woolly fiber of cotton had to be separated from the seeds by hand, and it took one person an entire day to clean a pound of cotton. With Whitney's cotton-gin one person could clean a hundred pounds in a day.

Whitney's cotton-gin gave new life to slavery in the United



Whitney's first
Cotton-gin and
the Cotton-gin
of To-day



States. In 1790 slavery in this country was dying out. In the Northern States it was becoming unlawful to hold slaves at all, and in the Southern States it was becoming unlawful to import them from abroad. But with the appearance of the cotton-gin slavery soon became vastly more profitable than it had ever been before. Now that cotton could be so easily and cheaply cleaned, larger fields of it were planted, and to till these fields a greater number of slaves was necessary. So the invention of the cotton-gin was not an unmixed blessing. It enormously increased the production of cotton, but at the same time it bound the South to a system of slave labor.

Manufactures. Manufacturing, like agriculture, was still in a rude and simple stage of development. A glimpse of the industrial life of the time is given in the following de-

scription of a Massachusetts town: "There were about 1000 people in this town [North Brookfield]. These were nearly all husbandmen. What few mechanics there were were also farmers. Among these half-mechanics and half-farmers were a blacksmith, a nail-maker, a gunsmith, wheelwrights, carpenters, coopers, cobblers, broom-makers, and tailors. The cobblers had a bench in their kitchen and would also go around to the farmers' homes with their kit and stay a week or so mending



Mount Vernon, Showing the Plantation Shops

and making the family supply of shoes. The father or grandfather was still making some of the brooms. The wheelwright made ox-cart wheels, axles, and tongues, the remainder of the cart being made by the farmers. The carpenter had little to do, because every thriving man could hew, mortise, and lay shingles. The spinning, weaving, and dyeing were still done in the household. Every family owned a great and a little wheel as well as a loom. Soap was made in every family."¹

In some places there were shops where special trades were carried on, but these were usually small affairs. In the South a rude kind of manufacturing was carried on by slaves. A great Virginia plantation, like Washington's at Mount Vernon, for example, had a mill for the making of flour; a forge for making nails and other articles of iron; a carpenter shop; and

¹ R. M. Tryon, "Household Manufactures," p. 145.

a weaving-room where the coarse clothing for the slaves was made. Since there were no great factories at this time, there were no large bodies of workmen who could be distinctly classed as employees. And there was no distinct class of employers. Almost every craftsman was himself a proprietor: he was the owner both of the tools with which he worked and of the articles that his craft fashioned.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe. But this simple industrial life was soon to be disturbed by the Industrial Revolution. And what was the Industrial Revolution? It was a movement in the industrial world that began in England in 1734, when a mechanic named Kay invented the flying-shuttle for the loom and thereby made it possible for a weaver to weave twice as much cloth as he could weave before. The flying-shuttle of Kay was followed by Arkwright's wonderful spinning-machine, which took the place of the old spinning-wheel. Then the power-loom was invented, and looms were driven by the water-wheel or by the steam-engine invented by James Watt. With the loom driven by a force of nature a single weaver could attend to several looms and weave five or six times as much cloth as a single person could weave in the olden time.

Before the appearance of these inventions the fabrics of the loom were made chiefly of wool. But the new power-looms worked so fast that all the sheep in the world did not carry on their backs enough wool to keep the weavers busy. So manufacturers began to use cotton in larger quantities than it had ever been used before, and they were delighted when Whitney's invention increased the output of cotton.

While these great inventions were being brought into use the face of the civilized world was all the time changing. Before the time of Kay and Arkwright the weavers and spinners of England had worked for themselves in their own homes or in their own little shops, where there were seldom more than two or three looms; but now they gathered in large factories, where they worked as wage-earners for an employer. So the inventions of Kay and Arkwright and Watt had the re-

sult of changing the household system of industry to the factory system, and because the change was so great it was called the Industrial Revolution.

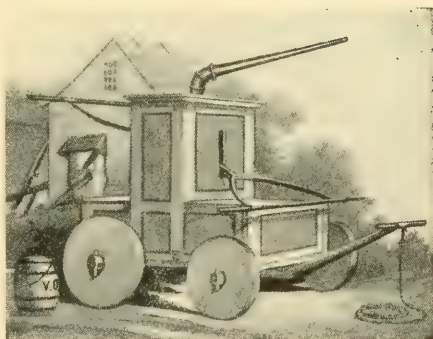
Beginning of the Industrial Revolution in America. In England the Industrial Revolution was well under way by the end of the eighteenth century. The movement, however, was slow in reaching America for the English government would not allow the new machines to be taken out of Great Britain and it guarded carefully the secrets of their manufacture. Nevertheless, in one way and another, the secrets leaked out, and by the opening of the nineteenth century the factory system was beginning to gain a foothold in the United States. In 1790 Samuel Slater, an Englishman by birth, went to Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and set up a good-sized cotton factory equipped with the new machinery. The establishment of Slater's mill marked the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in America.

Every-Day Life of the People. When we come to look at the people themselves, we find that our ancestors of 1800 were in many respects far behind their great-grandchildren of to-day. For example, in 1800 the mass of people had but little voice in matters of government. The right to vote did not belong to women at all. Nor did it belong to all grown men, as it does to-day, but only to men who owned a certain amount of property.

The people of 1800 also were far behind us in matters of education. In respect to higher education considerable progress had been made, for in almost every State there was at least one college, and in some of the States there were two or three. But the colleges were for the rich and well-to-do, and not for the common people. The masses were woefully ignorant, the majority of them being unable to read and write. In no State was there a system of public schools in which all children, rich and poor alike, might receive an education. In the New England States there were more schools than in any other part of the country, but even there the schools were too few in number to educate all the children. Newspapers, which

now do so much for the education of the people, were few, while public libraries hardly existed at all.

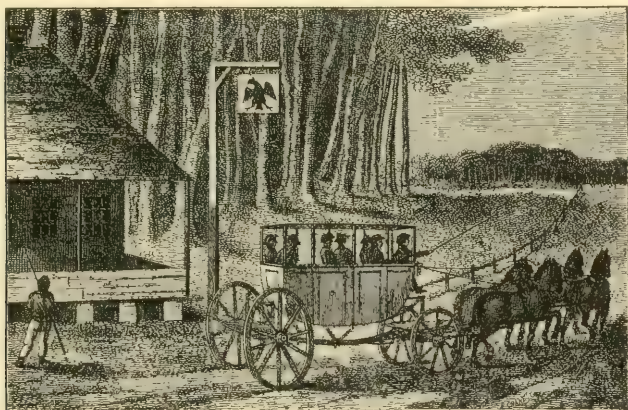
If we could go back to the year 1800 and get a glimpse of the people as they moved about in their houses and on the streets and in their shops and stores and factories, things would



An Old Time Fire Engine

Courtesy of the Macmillan Company

appear so plain and simple and strange that we should seem to be looking upon another world. We now live in a world of steam and electricity, but in 1800 steam was used but little and electricity not at all. There were no steam-cars or steamboats, and of course there were no electric cars or automobiles. The streets were poorly paved, and if lighted at all it was only by dingy lamps, for even the gas-light had not yet come into use. Within the home many of those useful inventions were lacking that now do so much to



An Early Stage-Coach

make life agreeable and comfortable. There was no telephone to keep the family in touch with the outside world. There were no sewing-machines to lighten the burdens of the housewife. There was no hot-air furnace or steam-heater to keep the house properly warmed. A cooking-stove was seldom seen; and as for a match to start a flame, that was a thing as yet unknown.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the trouble that President Adams had with France.
2. What was the Alien Law? The Sedition Law? What two important results did these two laws have?
3. What was the population of our country in 1790? In 1800? What were the chief cities at that time?
4. Give an account of the state of agriculture in 1800, and name the principal products. What effect did the invention of the cotton-gin have upon slavery?
5. Describe manufacturing as it existed in 1800.
6. Tell the story of the Industrial Revolution.
7. Give an account of the every-day life of the people in 1800, touching upon the topics of voting, education, steam, electricity, useful inventions.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1689 (2), 1776, 1787 (2), 1789.
2. Persons: Edmund Andros, Samuel Adams, Hamilton, Washington.
3. Tell what you can about: Bacon's Rebellion; the Convention of 1787; the Ordinance of 1787; the Whisky Insurrection; the Declaration of Independence.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: European Background; Foreign Relations since 1789; Slavery; Population; Agriculture; Manufacturing; Education; Great Inventions; The French in North America.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The New Republic and Its People: Eggleston, 200-212.
 - (2) Presidency of John Adams: Eggleston, 221-225.
 - (3) X Y Z Correspondence: Hart, 191-194.
 - (4) The Story of the Loom: Forman, 109-123.
 - (5) The Story of the Steam Engine: Forman, 54-72.
 - (6) Eli Whitney: Faris, 123-134.

XXVIII

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE GREAT EXPANSION

We saw (p. 179) that with the defeat of John Adams in 1800 the control of the national government passed out of the hands of the Federalist party. It passed into the hands of the Democratic party, with Thomas Jefferson as the party chief and the victorious candidate for the Presidency of the United States. While Jefferson was President the area of our country was doubled. In this chapter we shall have the story of the great expansion, and also an account of other important events of Jefferson's administration.

Inauguration of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson began his term of office (March 4, 1801) in Washington, the new capital on the banks of the Potomac. The city, which is now the pride of the nation, was then a straggling village in a wilderness. The Capitol was unfinished, and the President's house (the White House) was in an open field and was hardly fit for occupancy. There were no good hotels in Washington; the streets were unpaved; and most of the conveniences and comforts of life were lacking. It is said that the President could not obtain, for love or money, a man to cut some wood for him in the forest that then surrounded the capital city.

Washington and Adams liked a little pomp and ceremony at their inaugurations and public receptions; but in the forest city in which Jefferson began his duties pomp and splendor were out of the question. The new President, therefore, was inaugurated in a very quiet and simple manner. Dressed as an ordinary citizen, he went on foot from his own lodging to the unfinished Capitol, his escort consisting of a small troop of militia and a few citizens who joined the little procession.

Jefferson States the Essential Principles of Americanism. Jefferson, being a great champion of Americanism, took great



Thomas Jefferson

Born in Virginia in 1743; died in 1826.

care to state in his Inaugural Address what he believed were the essential principles of the American government. The principles, he said, were:

Equal and exact justice to all men.

Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

The support of the State governments in all their rights.

The preservation of the national government in its constitutional vigor as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and abroad.

A jealous care of the right of election by the people.

The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

Economy in the public expenses.

Encouragement of agriculture and of commerce.

The diffusion of information (popular education).

Freedom of the press and personal freedom.

Trial by juries impartially selected.

The Louisiana Question. Jefferson was hardly in office before he was called upon to settle the Louisiana question, the most important problem that came before him while he was President. It will be remembered that the region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, a region that was known by the name of Louisiana, had been given by the treaty

of 1763 (p. 105) to Spain. In 1800 Spain secretly began to make arrangements for giving Louisiana back to France. As soon as Jefferson heard of this he suspected that he might have trouble with France, just as Washington and Adams had had trouble with that country. Jefferson, however, was a man of peace, and he did not intend to have war with France if he could help it. At first he would take no decided action in reference to the Louisiana question, but in 1802 he saw that he would soon be compelled to do something, for in that year the Spaniards, who were still in control of Louisiana, in violation of a treaty made with Spain in 1795, closed the navigation of the Mississippi to American citizens and took away from them "the right of deposit." This meant that Americans in the Ohio valley could no longer take their grain, tobacco, flour, and bacon down to New Orleans and sell them to foreign countries or even to American merchants along the coast. To close the mouth of the Mississippi was like locking the front door of a house that had no back door, and the people of Kentucky and Tennessee and Ohio flew into a rage when they heard what Spain had done. They threatened to take matters into their own hands and to march against New Orleans if the government at Washington did not come to their aid.

Jefferson saw the growing importance of the West, and it was not in his mind to neglect the Western people. He desired to bring them relief, but he wished to do this by peaceful means. In 1803 he sent instructions to Robert Livingston, our minister at Paris, to buy from France, which by this time was in possession of Louisiana, the little strip of land on which New Orleans was situated, so that the people of the West might have a place to land their goods. He also appointed James Monroe a special envoy to assist Livingston in making the purchase. Livingston and Monroe found that they could purchase for the sum of \$15,000,000 the whole of Louisiana, and they boldly did so (1803).

When Jefferson heard what they had done, his feelings must have been like those of the man who shot at a squirrel and

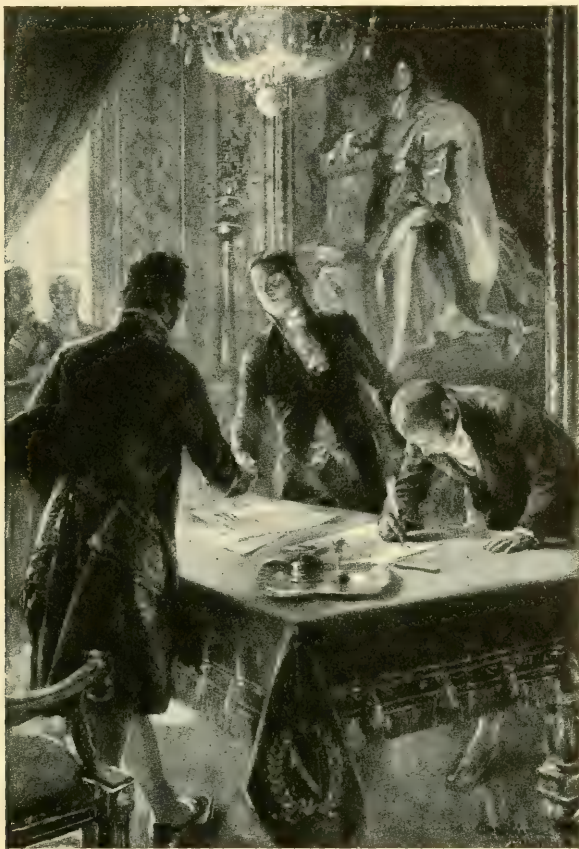
brought down a bear! The President had intended to acquire only a few square miles of territory for the deposit of American goods, and he had actually acquired a territory containing nearly a million of square miles, a region out of which afterward were carved thirteen great States — Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota (in part), Kansas,



The United States After the Louisiana Purchase

Nebraska, Colorado (in part), North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana (in part), Wyoming (in part), and Oklahoma (in part).

The War with the Pirates. Throughout his entire administration Jefferson was kept busy in protecting our trade with foreign nations from attacks by outsiders. First there were the pirates of the Mediterranean to deal with. The ports of Algiers, Morocco, and Tripoli were infested by sea-robbers, who were accustomed to seize upon merchant vessels and demand a sum of money as tribute. If the money was not paid the vessel was plundered and the sailors were sold as slaves. Most of the nations preferred to pay the money rather than



Signing the Agreement for the Louisiana Purchase

fight. The United States also paid the tribute for a while; but the pirates grew so insolent and asked for so much money that Jefferson determined to fight rather than to pay tribute. So a war, known as the war with Tripoli, arose between the pirates and the United States. The struggle consisted of a series of sea-fights. It continued for several years, and was brought to an end in 1804, when a treaty of peace was made which relieved American vessels from paying tribute to pirates.

Unfriendly Conduct of England and France. But the pirates were not the greatest enemies of the American trade during the Presidency of Jefferson. The greatest harm to the commerce of the United States was inflicted by two civilized nations, England and France. These countries were still at war, and each nation was trying to injure the trade of the other as much as possible; but in striking at the trade of each other they gave, at the same time, a heavy blow to the trade of the United States. Americans at the time were carrying on a thriving trade with the French West Indies. England ordered that neutral nations—and the United States was a neutral nation—should not carry produce from the French West Indies to France, and many American vessels that disobeyed the order were captured by English war-ships. Again, Great Britain declared that neutral vessels should not trade with those countries of Europe that sided with France, and many American vessels attempting to enter the harbors friendly to France were seized. As a return blow, France forbade neutral vessels to enter British harbors, and captured American vessels that disobeyed. So American shipping was ground between two millstones. More than a thousand American vessels were captured by England and France.

Besides capturing American vessels that were trading where England did not want them to trade, English sea-captains would stop an American vessel of any kind and take from the crew such seamen as they thought were Englishmen, and would impress these seamen into the service of the English navy. The men thus impressed might be, and sometimes were, American citizens, but that made no difference to England; Great Britain was the mistress of the sea and could do pretty much as she pleased.

In 1807 a downright outrage was committed in the name of impressment. As an American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, was leaving the port of Norfolk, Virginia, the British ship *Leopard* stopped the American vessel and demanded the surrender of certain sailors who were on board. The commander of the *Chesapeake* refused to give up the men, and the *Leopard*

opened fire, killing three and wounding eighteen of the American crew. This made the people of the United States very angry; but their navy was weak, and they had to be content with the half-hearted apology the British government made.

The Embargo; Non-Intercourse. To remedy some of the wrongs inflicted upon American commerce, Congress (in 1807) laid an embargo on American vessels; that is, it forbade all vessels to sail from America to foreign ports. The purpose of the Embargo was to cripple the trade of England. That country had an immense trade with America, and Congress thought that if England were cut off from her American trade she would feel the loss so keenly that she would treat us better. But England paid very little attention to the Embargo, and it was soon found that we needed England's trade quite as much as she needed ours. Upon the whole, the Embargo did more harm than good. It ruined American shipowners and brought distress upon many thousands of sailors. Indeed, its results were so disastrous that it had to be repealed fourteen months after it was put into effect. As a substitute for the Embargo, Congress (in 1809) passed the Non-Intercourse Act. This forbade American vessels to trade with England and France, but permitted them to trade with other nations.

James Madison. In 1809 Jefferson's second term expired. He could have been elected for a third term, but refused the honor. Washington had refused a third term, and Jefferson thought that the example set by Washington should be followed by all future Presidents.

Jefferson expressed a wish that he might be succeeded in the Presidency by his friend James Madison of Virginia. The leaders of the Democratic party took the hint, and Madison was elected President in 1808 and reelected in 1812. Next to Jefferson himself, Madison at the time of his election was perhaps the greatest of American statesmen. We have seen him among the leaders in the Convention of 1787. His services in helping to frame the Constitution and secure its adoption were so great that he was called the Father of the

Constitution. He was a leader in Congress under Washington, and for eight years, acting as Secretary of State, was the chief of Jefferson's cabinet.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the election and inauguration of Jefferson.
2. What principles of Americanism were announced by Jefferson?
3. Why was it necessary that the United States should have Louisiana?
4. Tell the story of the purchase of Louisiana.
5. Why did Jefferson wage war upon Tripoli? What was the result of the war?
6. In what ways did England and France act in an unfriendly manner toward the United States? Give an account of the impressment of American seamen by England.
7. What was the Embargo of 1807? What were its results? What was the Non-Intercourse Act?
8. When and under what circumstances was Madison elected President? What qualifications did he have for the office?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1507, 1776, 1789.
2. Persons: John Smith, Hamilton, John Adams, Eli Whitney.
3. Tell what you can about: the Stamp Act; the Whisky Insurrection; the Alien and Sedition Laws.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Americanism; Expansion since 1789; Foreign Relations since 1789; Religion; The Claims of Different Nations at Different Times; The French in North America.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Thomas Jefferson: Faris, 68-79.
 - (2) How we bought Louisiana: A New Nation, 25-29.
 - (3) How a capital city was chosen: Coe, 186-190.
 - (4) The Purchase of Louisiana: Coe, 198-206.
 - (5) A Case of Impressment: Hart, 194-196.

XXIX

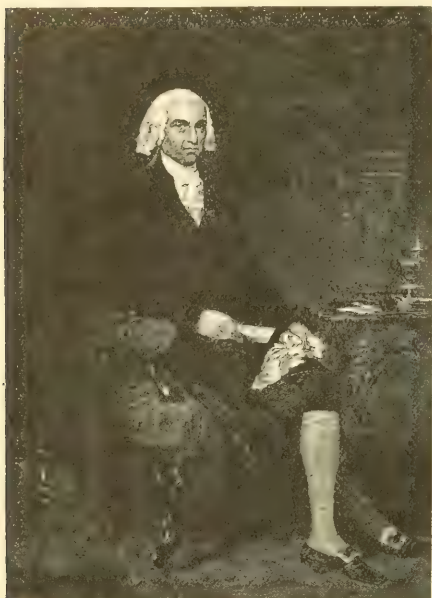
THE WAR FOR COMMERCIAL FREEDOM

We have seen that during the administration of Jefferson great harm was inflicted upon our ocean trade and upon our citizens by the unfriendly conduct of England and France. During the administration of Madison the outrages continued, with the result that in 1812 America was compelled to go to war with England in order to protect herself.

England and France Continue to Harass American Commerce. Madison had to face the same kind of trouble that had vexed Jefferson. France and England were still at war, and both nations were still capturing American ships and inflicting injury upon American trade. There was a moment when Madison thought the long trouble with these two nations had come to an end. The British minister at Washington, Erskine, promised that Americans should be allowed to trade where they pleased if the President would not enforce the Non-Intercourse Act (p. 193). Relying upon the good faith of this promise of Erskine, Madison gave out the word that the Non-Intercourse Act would not be enforced and that American ships were free to trade with all foreign countries. In a few weeks a thousand American vessels, laden with wheat, rice, and cotton, "spread their white wings like a flock of long-imprisoned birds and flew out to sea." But this freedom was short-lived, for word came quickly from England that a mistake had been made and that Erskine had promised more than the British government was willing to grant. So the Non-Intercourse Act was again put into force, and our relations with England became as unsatisfactory as ever.

Drifting Toward War. The truth is, England and the United States had long been drifting toward war, and when Madison became President a clash was near at hand. Madison, like Jefferson, was a man of peace. His critics declared that he "could not be kicked into war." But Madison was un-

able successfully to withstand the war feeling that was rising in the United States. We were having a great deal of trouble with the Indians in 1811, and the people thought, perhaps



James Madison

Born in Virginia in 1751; fourth President, 1809-17; died in 1836.

without good reason, that England was secretly encouraging the savages to rise in rebellion against the Americans. Then William Pinkney, our minister to England, after years of patient effort to gain fair treatment from the English government, came home (in 1811) in disgust, and this withdrawal caused the people to think that nothing fair could be expected from England. Moreover, bad blood was stirred by an actual encounter (in 1811) between the American frigate *Pres-*

ident and the British ship *Little Belt*. But the thing that did most to create a war feeling was the impressment of our seamen; England still persisted in going aboard our ships and taking away our sailors.

In 1812 the storm that had been brewing for twenty years gathered and broke. In April Congress began to prepare for war, and in June war upon Great Britain was formally declared. In giving the reasons for going to war Congress declared that our flag had been violated on the high seas; that our ports had been blockaded; that the British had encouraged the Indians to attack our citizens in the West; and that our seamen had been impressed.

The country was in no condition to go to war. The few soldiers we had were scattered through the West, at Detroit, Fort Dearborn, Fort Wayne, and other posts where they were needed to defend the frontier against the attacks of the Indians. On the sea we were weaker than we were on land. Our navy consisted of only twelve first-class fighting ships, while our enemy had nearly a thousand. Our military leaders were nearly all very old men. They had fought in the Revolution, but few of them had commanded regiments in battle. Even worse than this lack of preparation for war was the divided sentiment of the country. Only in the South and in the West was the war popular. In New York and New England the people did not want war. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island flatly refused to send their share of soldiers.

The European Background of the War of 1812. For the European background of the war we must turn our eyes to the great conflict between England and France which had been raging so long (p. 168) and which in 1812 was at its height. England was now in a death grapple with Napoleon and she felt that if he was not crushed her own freedom would be lost, and that all Europe would be brought under the heel of a tyrant. The English people, therefore, having war enough on their hands, would gladly have avoided the conflict with the United States. The English government actually took measures to maintain peace with America. Two days before Congress declared war, British naval vessels were ordered to cease capturing American ships. But there was no Atlantic cable or wireless telegraph in those days, and by the time the news reached the United States the war had already begun. It was now too late for peace. For Congress was largely under the control of Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, and these young "war hawks"—as John Randolph called them—insisted that the war must go on. So Great Britain found herself compelled to fight a war in America at a time when her best troops were on the Continent struggling with the armies of France.

The Attack upon Canada. The War of 1812 began with a

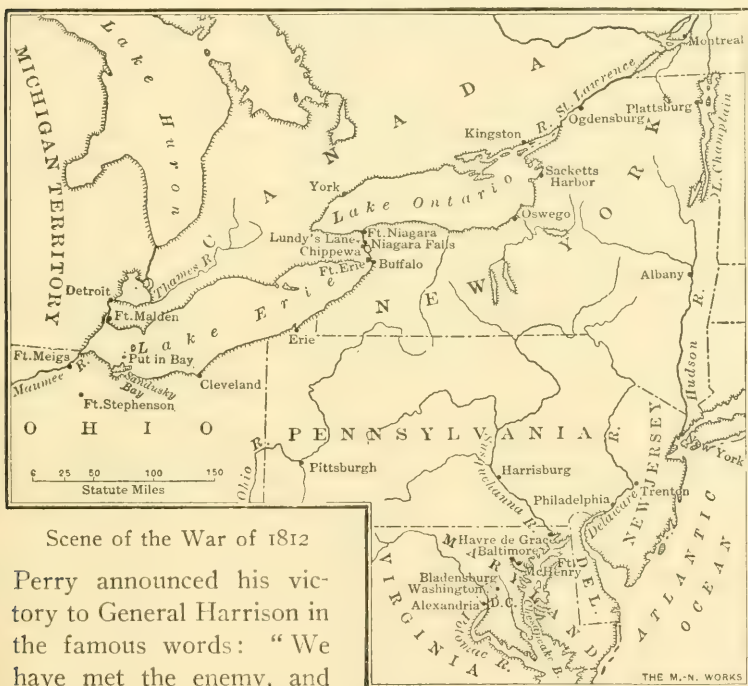
plan for an invasion of our northern neighbor. William Hull, the Governor of Michigan Territory, crossed from Detroit into Canada with about 2000 men for the purpose of taking Fort Malden. Hull had seen service in the Revolutionary War, but by 1812 his fighting days were over. At Fort Malden he became disheartened and retreated to Detroit. The British General Brock now approached Detroit with an army smaller than that of Hull and demanded the surrender of the fort. In obedience to the summons the American general hoisted a white table-cloth as a sign of surrender, and Detroit and the whole of Michigan Territory passed into the hands of the British.

The Struggle on the Sea and on the Great Lakes. On the ocean the first year of war brought us much greater success than we had met with on land. The most famous of the sea-fights in the War of 1812 was that fought between the *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of the commander of Detroit, and the British frigate *Guerrière*. These ships met far out on the ocean and fought an old-time naval duel. The victory of the *Constitution*—"Old Ironsides," it was afterward called—was complete. In half an hour the British ship was a helpless and shattered hulk lying in the trough of a heavy sea with water running into the barrels of her heavy guns. The result of this sea-fight startled the English nation. And well it might, for it was now certain that American war-ships could send the best of the English war-ships to the bottom of the sea.

The success of our navy on the ocean was matched by our naval victories on the Great Lakes. England had a fleet on the upper lakes, and the Americans, under the leadership of Oliver Hazard Perry, a brave young naval officer scarcely out of his teens, undertook to rid the lakes of the British ships. The American ships had first to be built. "The timber of the coming fleet was still standing in the woods; the iron-work, stores, canvas, and cordage were in New York and Philadelphia." But sleds and wagons brought the necessary

materials through deep snows to the shores of Lake Erie, and scores of wood-choppers and ship-carpenters were put to work. By July, 1813, five newly built vessels were ready to sail against the English vessels on the lakes. Perry came upon the British at Put-in-Bay, off Sandusky, Ohio, and one of the hottest battles in our naval history followed.

At one time Perry's own ship, the *Lawrence*, was about to sink. The young commander made his way in a little boat to another vessel, and kept up the fight until the British fleet raised the white flag and surrendered (September 10, 1813).



Scene of the War of 1812

Perry announced his victory to General Harrison in the famous words: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." This victory made it easy for the Americans to regain control of Detroit and the Michigan country.

Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. In 1814 there was more

fighting in the neighborhood of Niagara Falls. In July General Brown and young Winfield Scott — of whom we shall hear again — met the British forces just above the falls at Chippewa and defeated them. A few days later the two armies again met in battle at Lundy's Lane, where the roar of artillery was answered by the roar of the great falls near by. The fighting in this battle was fierce, but neither side could claim the victory. There were other battles along the Canadian border, but they settled nothing. The Americans made no headway into Canada, and the British could get no foothold on American soil.

The War Along the Atlantic Coast. Along the Atlantic coast the British throughout the war did all they could to destroy property and keep the cities in a state of alarm. In August, 1814, the British General Ross, with a trained army of 3500 men, landed at Benedict, on the Patuxent River in Maryland, and marched upon Washington. The Americans, with an army of raw, untrained men, gave battle to the British at Bladensburg, but could not check the advance upon the capital. Troops under Admiral Cockburn entered the new Capitol building, and somebody climbed into the Speaker's chair and put the question: "Shall this harbor of Yankee Democracy be burned?" All cried, "Aye," and the torch was applied to the building. The White House also was set on fire. There was no good excuse for these outrages, and England herself was ashamed of the conduct of her soldiers at Washington.

After the capture of Washington the British moved upon the larger and richer city of Baltimore. But Baltimore was prepared for the attack. The guns at Fort McHenry would not allow the British to approach the city. All day and far into the night the British bombarded the fort, but could not capture it. Francis Scott Key during the night had been watching the bombardment, and when in the morning he saw our flag still waving from the walls of the fort, he was inspired to write the beautiful patriotic hymn, "The Star-Spangled Banner." The British fleet, being unable to pass the fort, abandoned the siege of Baltimore and sailed away.

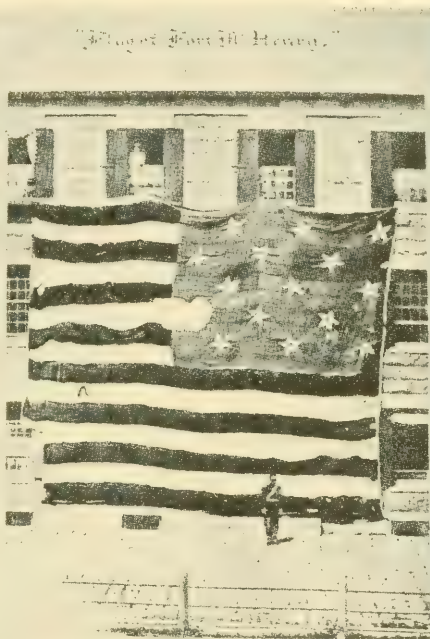
The Hartford Convention. We saw that the people of New England were from the beginning opposed to the War of 1812. Before the war was over this opposition showed itself in a rather ugly fashion. In 1814 a convention of delegates from five New England States met at Hartford to consider the state of public affairs.

After long discussion behind closed doors, the convention made a report which strongly hinted that the time might be coming when the States would be justified in withdrawing from the Union.

"Acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution," the report went on to say, "are absolutely void, and States that have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions."

Here was the doctrine of the Kentucky Resolutions, the doctrine of nullification (p. 179), over again. Nothing important came of the doings of the Hartford Convention, for the war ended almost before the report was made. Nevertheless the report caused the leaders of the convention to become very unpopular, and, since those leaders were Federalists, the convention did much to hasten the death of the already dying Federalist party.

Battle of New Orleans. In 1814 Napoleon was overthrown.



"Our Star Spangled Banner."

After his downfall England could give more attention to the war in America. Late in 1814 she sent a fleet of fifty vessels and an army of 16,000 veterans under Sir Edward Pakenham against New Orleans. The purpose of Pakenham was to wrest the whole province of Louisiana from the United States. If the British should be successful in this purpose the great work of Jefferson would be undone and the United States would lose half its territory. Surely it was a great prize Pakenham was to fight for! The defense of New Orleans was given over to Andrew Jackson, who had an army of 6000 raw troops. Among Jackson's men, however, there were a great many Tennessee and Kentucky riflemen, who generally hit what they shot at. Jackson fortified the city by throwing up earthworks. After several skirmishes Pakenham made a last bold charge (January 8, 1815) upon the banks of earth. The Americans did not fire until the British were close at hand. Then the riflemen began to shoot, and whole platoons of the British fell in their tracks. In twenty-five minutes Jackson had won the victory. The British lost their commander and 2500 men. The American loss was 8 killed and 13 wounded. So Louisiana was saved to the United States.

Treaty of Ghent; Results of the War. If there had been such a thing as a telegraph system in 1815, the battle of New Orleans would never have been fought; for two weeks before the battle occurred a treaty of peace had been agreed upon between the United States and Great Britain. This treaty, known as the treaty of Ghent (the city where it was drawn up), settled nothing of importance. Both nations were tired of the war, and the treaty was simply an agreement to stop fighting. Nothing was said in the treaty about impressment of seamen, which was the chief cause of the war, and there was no giving up of territory by either side.

So far as outward and immediate results were concerned, both nations, at the end of the war, were precisely where they were at the beginning. Nevertheless the war was a good thing for the United States, since after the treaty of Ghent it was a hundred years before any nation dared again to treat our

commerce on the seas as if we were weaklings unable to defend our rights. The War of 1812 was truly the second war for independence — commercial independence. Henceforth trade on the ocean was free and sailors' rights secure.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the promise made by Erskine.
2. What events showed that England and the United States were drifting toward war? When and why was war declared? Show that our country was unprepared for war.
3. Describe the European background of the War of 1812.
4. Give an account of the invasion of Canada.
5. Describe two important sea-fights of the War of 1812.
6. What battles were fought in 1814 along the Canadian border?
7. Describe the operations of the British in 1814 along the Atlantic coast.
8. Why did the Hartford Convention meet? What was the action of this convention?
9. What was the purpose of the British in attacking New Orleans? Give an account of the battle of New Orleans.
10. What was settled by the treaty of Ghent? What was the chief result of the War of 1812?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1588, 1604, 1776, 1803.
2. Persons: Champlain, Henry Hudson, James Oglethorpe, John Adams, Eli Whitney, James Madison.
3. Tell what you can about: the Patroons; the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish; the Treason of Arnold; the Alien and Sedition Laws; the Louisiana Purchase; the Embargo of 1807.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The French in North America; Wars since 1783; Foreign Relations since 1789; Treaties; The Tariff; Nullification and Secession.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Causes of the War of 1812: A New Nation, 43-46.
 - (2) The Battle of New Orleans: A New Nation, 62-70.
 - (3) The Battle of Lake Erie: Hitchcock, 157-172.
 - (4) How the Embargo Was Enforced and Evaded: McLaughlin, 113-121.
 - (5) Capture of Washington: Hart, 218-220.
 - (6) Read in the class the poem "Old Ironsides": Lane and Hill, 121-122.
 - (7) The Star-Spangled Banner: A New Nation, 67-71.

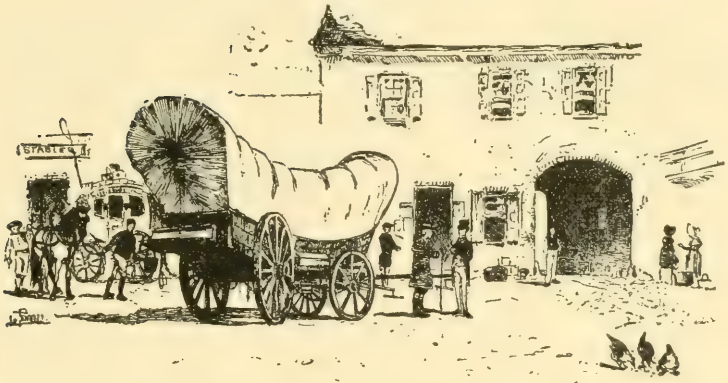
XXX

LIFE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

While Jefferson and Madison were fighting for our rights as a nation, the great work of winning the West did not cease for a single day. With the opening of the nineteenth century the stream of emigration to the unsettled parts of the country flowed faster than ever. Between 1800 and 1820 the population of the West and Southwest increased nearly 2,000,000, and nearly half a million square miles of territory were rescued from savages and wild beasts and brought under the control of white men. In this chapter and the next we shall learn how this stupendous task was achieved.

Ohio Becomes a State; the Sale of Public Lands. When we left the story of the westward movement a large portion of what is now Ohio had been set off as a separate Territory and was looking forward to statehood (p. 176). In 1802 Congress passed a law enabling the people of this Territory to frame a constitution for themselves. Accordingly a constitutional convention met at Chillicothe and drew up a constitution. This was accepted by Congress, and in 1803 the Territory Northwest of the Ohio was admitted into the Union as the State of Ohio.

Now that it was a State, Ohio grew more rapidly than ever. A chief cause of its growth was the liberal policy that the national government adopted with respect to the public lands of the Northwest Territory. Congress, as we have seen (p. 154), could dispose of these lands as it saw fit. At first it sold the land only in large tracts, and nobody but the rich could buy. In 1800, however, it adopted a new plan. It divided the land into small tracts and sold them at \$2 an acre, one fourth of the money to be paid in cash. So after 1800 a settler with \$50 in cash could become the possessor of a good-sized Western



Starting Out Over the National Road

A Conestoga wagon in the Bull's Head Inn yard, Philadelphia.

farm. The cheap land attracted settlers of moderate means and caused Ohio and the whole Northwest to grow in population at a rapid rate.

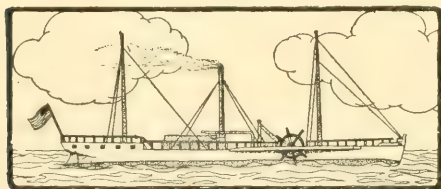
The National Road. Another event that quickened the growth of the Northwest was the building of the National Road. When Ohio was admitted as a State, Congress promised to take part of the money received for public lands in Ohio and use it for building a road over the Alleghanies. The promise was kept, and by 1818 a great national road had been built from Cumberland, in Maryland, to Wheeling, then in Virginia. From first to last, Congress spent nearly \$7,000,000 on the National Road, and it was money well spent. On the smooth bed of the new highway travelers could move with ease and comfort, and goods could be carried over the mountains at half the cost at which they were carried before.

Steamboats. The invention of the steamboat also played an important part in the building up of the West. As early as 1786 James Rumsey of Shepherdstown (then in Virginia) propelled on the Potomac River what was perhaps the first boat ever moved by steam. The next year John Fitch was running a steamboat on the Delaware River. But the boats of Rumsey and Fitch were clumsy affairs and were unsuccessful.

ful. The first really successful steamboat was built by Robert Fulton of New York. In 1807 Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, made a trip on the Hudson River from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours, returning in thirty hours.

Within four years after the launching of the *Clermont*, steamboats began to be built west of the Alleghanies, and by 1820 Western rivers were alive with the new craft. The result was an enormous increase in the volume of trade between the different sections of the Mississippi valley.

Indiana. One of the first places to feel the benefit of the cheap lands, the National Road, and the steamboat was Indiana. When the Northwest Territory was separated (in 1800) the western portion was called Indiana Territory. William Henry



Fulton's Steamboat, *Clermont*

Harrison was the first Governor of this Territory, and the first capital was the old French town of Vincennes.

For a while the settlement of Indiana proceeded at a slow rate. The Territory was infested with Indians, and emigrants avoided it, preferring to settle in Kentucky or Ohio, where the Indian had been put down. But it was not long before Indiana was made safe for the white men. Governor Harrison wished to get along in a peaceful manner with the Indians. He bought from them a large tract of land, agreeing to pay a fair price for it. But the red men felt that they had not been dealt with fairly and they stubbornly refused to give up their hunting-grounds. Worse than this (in 1811) the Indians under Tecumseh plotted to drive all the whites out of Indiana.

Harrison called the plotters before him and accused them of conspiracy. Tecumseh met the charge fearlessly, and was so defiant that there was nothing for the Governor to do but march against the Indians and destroy them in Indiana as "Mad Anthony" Wayne had destroyed them in Ohio. This

Harrison did when he met them in battle at Tippecanoe (November 7, 1811) and defeated them with great slaughter.

Now that the Indians were no longer to be feared, settlers came in more rapidly, and by 1815 Indiana had enough inhabitants to become a State. In 1816 representatives of the people met at Corydon, then the capital of the Territory, and framed a State Constitution. As the weather was warm, the sessions of the convention were held under a great elm-tree. The constitution drawn up by the open-air convention was accepted by Congress, and Indiana was admitted into the Union in 1816.

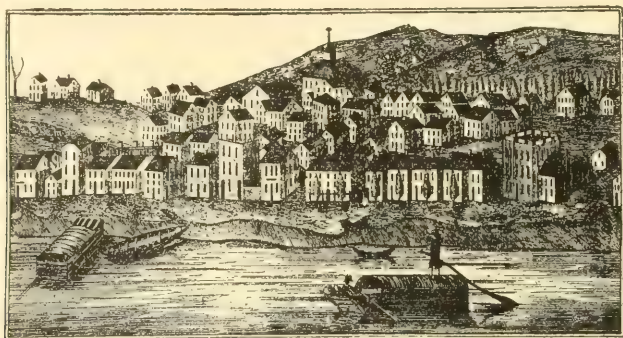
Illinois. In 1809 Indiana and Illinois were separated, and the latter was made a Territory, with the old French town of Kaskaskia as its capital. In the conditions of their settlement and growth Indiana and Illinois were twin sisters. The Indian question in Illinois was for the most part settled by the battle of Tippecanoe; yet during the War of 1812, at Fort Dearborn, on the present site of Chicago, there was a terrible massacre of white men.



Along the Ohio River: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois

After Illinois became a Territory its population increased very fast. By 1811 steamboats were running on the Ohio River, and the trip from Pittsburgh to Shawneetown could be

made in a few days. Roads through the Western country were by this time being built, and ferries and bridges and taverns



Cincinnati in 1810

were improving. Everything invited emigration from the older States. In 1809 Illinois had a population of 10,000; nine years later the Territory had a population of perhaps 50,000, and was admitted into the Union as a State.

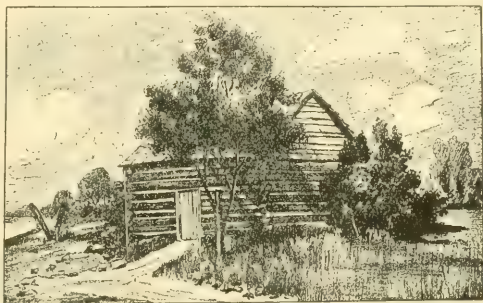
Life in the Middle West in the Early Days. We have now seen that within thirty years after the landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers of Ohio" at Marietta (p. 175) three of our greatest States were carved out of the original Northwest Territory. In each of the States the growth in population and wealth was wonderful. In Ohio, in Indiana, in Illinois, forests and swamps disappeared, and in their places appeared smiling fields of wheat and corn. Hamlets grew to towns, and towns to thriving cities.



Frontier Life

But these changes were not wrought by magic. These great States were built up only by the hardest kind of labor and by

great sacrifice on the part of the early settlers. Life in the Middle West a hundred years ago was not the pleasant, convenient, comfortable thing it is to-day. It was the plain, simple life of the pioneer farmer. "The farmer raised his own provisions; tea and coffee were scarcely used except on some grand occasions. The farmer's sheep furnished wool for his winter clothing; he raised cotton and flax for his summer clothing. His wife and daughters spun, wove, and made it into garments. A little copperas and indigo, with the bark of trees, furnished dyestuffs for coloring. The fur of the raccoon made him a hat or a cap. The skins of deer or of his cattle, tanned at a neighboring tannery or dressed by himself made him shoes or moccasins. Boots were rarely seen even in the towns. And a log cabin made entirely



The House in which Abraham Lincoln
Lived in Illinois

of wood, without glass, nails, hinges, or locks, furnished the residence of many a contented and happy family. The people were quick and ingenious to supply by invention and with their own hands the lack of mechanics and artificers. Each farmer built his own house, made his own plows and harness, beds, chairs, cupboards, and tables."¹

These pioneers of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois laid the foundation of the great West, and they rendered a noble service in the upbuilding of our country. From among their own number and from among their children and grandchildren have come many of our foremost statesmen, soldiers, and scholars. Ohio shares with Virginia the honor of being the "Mother of Presidents"; Indiana is justly proud of many celebrated men; while from the rough life of early Kentucky,

¹ Ford, "History of Illinois," p. 41.

Indiana, and Illinois there emerged the greatest American of the nineteenth century — Abraham Lincoln.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the admission of Ohio into the Union. What was a chief cause of the rapid growth of Ohio? How did Congress dispose of the public lands at this time?
2. Give an account of the building of the National Road.
3. What was the early history of steamboat-building in the United States? What was the early history of the steamboat on Western rivers?
4. Give an account of the early history of Indiana.
5. What was the early history of Illinois? When was it admitted into the Union?
6. Describe fully the pioneer life of the Middle West.

REVIEWS AND READINGS

1. Dates: 1620, 1781, 1783, 1803, 1812.
2. Persons: John Winthrop, Marquette, La Salle, Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis, John Adams, Eli Whitney, James Madison, Andrew Jackson.
3. Tell what you can about: the Line of Demarcation; the Pilgrims; the Puritans; the Alien and Sedition Laws; the Louisiana Purchase; the Embargo of 1807; the Era of Hard Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Westward Movement; The Presidents; their Election and Inauguration; Means of Communication; Indians and Indian Wars; Agriculture.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Steamboat on Western Waters: Bogart, 195-197.
 - (2) Expansion of the Union: Eggleston, 263-268.
 - (3) The Story of the Steamboat: Forman, 201-210.
 - (4) A Settler in Illinois: Hart, 237-240.
 - (5) The Ohio Valley in 1817: McLaughlin, 140-147.
 - (6) Robert Fulton and the *Clermont*: A New Nation, 95-105; Faris, 112-122.

XXXI

AROUND THE GULF OF MEXICO; ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI

While pioneers were settling the country north of the Ohio River, other pioneers were settling around the Gulf of Mexico and still others were pushing out into the wilderness far beyond the Mississippi. So the story of the westward movement now takes us to the shores of the great Gulf and to the land beyond the "Father of Waters."

Louisiana. While a kingdom of wheat and corn was rising in the country bordering on the Ohio River, there was rising a kingdom of cotton and sugar in the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. The story of the development of the Southwest begins with Louisiana, the first State carved out of the Great Purchase (p. 190). When Louisiana came into our possession in 1803, it was at once given by President Jefferson to his young friend William Claiborne, to be governed as he might think proper until Congress should provide for the Territory a regular form of government. Governor Claiborne took possession of Louisiana in the city of New Orleans in December, 1803.

After proclaiming that Louisiana belonged to the United States, the French Governor handed over to Claiborne the keys of the city of New Orleans. The new Governor then made an address to the people, assuring them that the United States received them as brothers, and promising them that they should be protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. When the Governor had finished his address the French flag was lowered and the American flag was raised. Thus Louisiana passed from the power of France into the power of the United States.



Around the Gulf of Mexico

After Louisiana was brought under American rule it flourished as never before. Planters moved down with their slaves from the older States, and began to till the rich cotton and sugar lands of the lower Mississippi. The result was a rapid growth in population. By 1812 the number of people within the boundaries of what is now the State of Louisiana was sufficient for Statehood. So in that year Louisiana was made a State.

Mississippi; Alabama; Florida. While planters were moving down into Louisiana, pioneers were also entering the Mississippi country — the region that now includes the two States of Mississippi and Alabama. This was still a wild region and was infested by Indians, the most troublesome of whom were the Creeks. But Andrew Jackson, with 1500 Tennessee volunteers, was sent against the Creeks, and when he had finished



An Old Time View of Natchez

with them their power was completely broken; they had lost most of their fighting men and the best part of their lands. Great streams of cotton planters now poured into the Mississippi country, and in a few years two more States were built up. The first of these was Mississippi, which entered the Union in 1817; the second was Alabama, which was admitted in 1819.

After the Creeks had been defeated by Jackson, some Creek warriors fled to Florida and joined the Seminoles. In 1816 the Seminoles and about a thousand negro slaves, who had escaped from their masters, invaded Georgia. They plundered the southern part of the State, burning barns, driving off cattle, and killing white men. Andrew Jackson went after the Seminoles in the same fierce manner that he had gone after the Creeks, and it was not long before the Florida Indians were defeated in battle and brought to their senses. Jackson now practically took possession of Florida, although at the time it belonged to Spain (p. 147). By nature Florida belonged to us, and sooner or later it was bound to pass into our hands. Spain saw this and decided to sell the country to us. So in 1819 Spain agreed to a treaty that transferred

Florida to the United States for the sum of \$5,000,000. Three years later Florida was made a Territory and in 1845 was admitted into the Union.

Thus, within a few years, three great States and a Territory arose out of the wilderness that encircled the Gulf of Mexico. The Gulf States grew rapidly in wealth and population, and soon thousands of plantations in the Southwest were white with cotton. For this wonderful growth the planters could thank Andrew Jackson, who taught the Indians of the section that they must let the white men live in peace; and they could thank Eli Whitney, who gave them the cotton-gin (p. 181) and thus made it possible to raise cotton with profit.

Across the Mississippi. While emigrants were pouring into



Meriwether Lewis

Born in Virginia, in 1774; died in
Tennessee, in 1809.

the Gulf region and into the region north of the Ohio, there was at the same time a stream of population flowing into the wild country beyond the Mississippi. Even before Louisiana came into our possession Americans were beginning to move across the Mississippi, and Jefferson was planning to have the region explored. In 1804 he fitted out an expedition to explore the Missouri River to its headwaters and to proceed thence either by land or by water to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition was in charge of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

Lewis and Clark, with a handful of men, left St. Louis in May, 1804, and followed the Missouri to its far-off

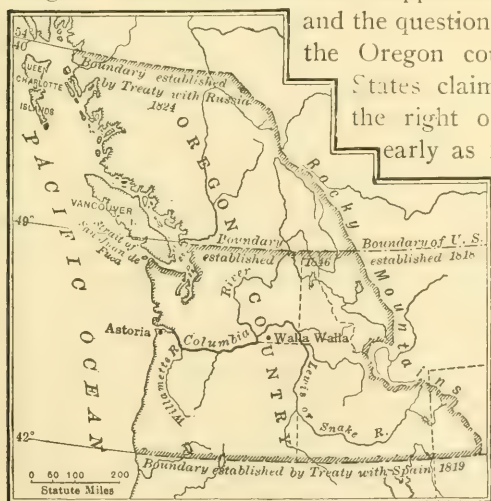
source in the Bitter Root Mountains. They then traveled by land until they came to the head-waters of a stream that flowed toward the west (map below). Following this stream, they reached the mouth of the Columbia River, and saw the waters like small mountains rolling out in the sea. They had done what many others had tried to do and had failed to do: they had reached the Pacific Ocean by traveling westward across the country that is now the United States. They returned by a somewhat different route, and reached St. Louis in September, 1806.

Just before Lewis and Clark returned from their explorations of the great Northwest, Zebulon Pike, with a few soldiers, set out (August, 1806) from St. Louis to explore the Louisiana country toward the southwest. Pike ascended the Missouri and Osage into Kansas, and then proceeded south to the Arkansas, which he followed until he came to Pueblo, Colorado, where he gave his name to one of the highest peaks (Pike's Peak) of the Rockies.

The Oregon Country. Trappers and fur-traders followed the path made by explorers, and it was not long before Americans were carrying on a fur trade in the far-off country called Oregon. Here the American trappers met British trappers,

and the question arose: Who owned the Oregon country? The United States claimed Oregon through the right of discovery; for as early as 1792 Captain Robert

Gray of Boston had entered the mouth of the Columbia River in a trading-vessel. Jefferson claimed Oregon on the ground that it was a part of the Louisiana Purchase. Spain claimed it on the ground



The Oregon Country

that she was the original owner of all territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Great Britain at this time did not claim full possession of the country, but she claimed the right to fish in the waters of Oregon and to trade with the Indians; for this right had been granted to her by Spain. In order to settle the question, England and the United States in 1818 entered into a scheme for holding the country in joint possession, the agreement being that either country could bring the joint occupation to an end by giving the other country a year's notice. In this manner the Oregon question was settled for a time, but only for a time.

Missouri. Planters, with their slaves, quickly followed the fur-traders across the Mississippi and laid the foundation for a community which, in 1812, was organized as the Missouri Territory. Settlers entered Missouri from almost every direction. Many came directly across from Illinois and Indiana, but the greatest rush was from North Carolina and Tennessee. Planters from the South took their slaves with them. Under such favorable conditions the increase in population was bound to be great. In 1810 the population of Missouri was 20,000; ten years later it was 70,000. Missouri Territory was now ready for Statehood, and accordingly was admitted into the Union in 1821.¹ Jefferson City was chosen as the capital of the State, although the largest town was St. Louis, which was the center of a flourishing fur trade.

Changes of Twenty Years (1800-20). As we follow the course of the westward movement described in the last two chapters, how wonderful and how great appear the changes that took place in our country in the early years of the nineteenth century! How different was the United States of 1820 from the United States of 1800! In 1800 the area of our country was less than a million of square miles; in 1820 it was nearly two millions of square miles. In 1800 our western boundary was the Mississippi River, while in 1820 our possessions ex-

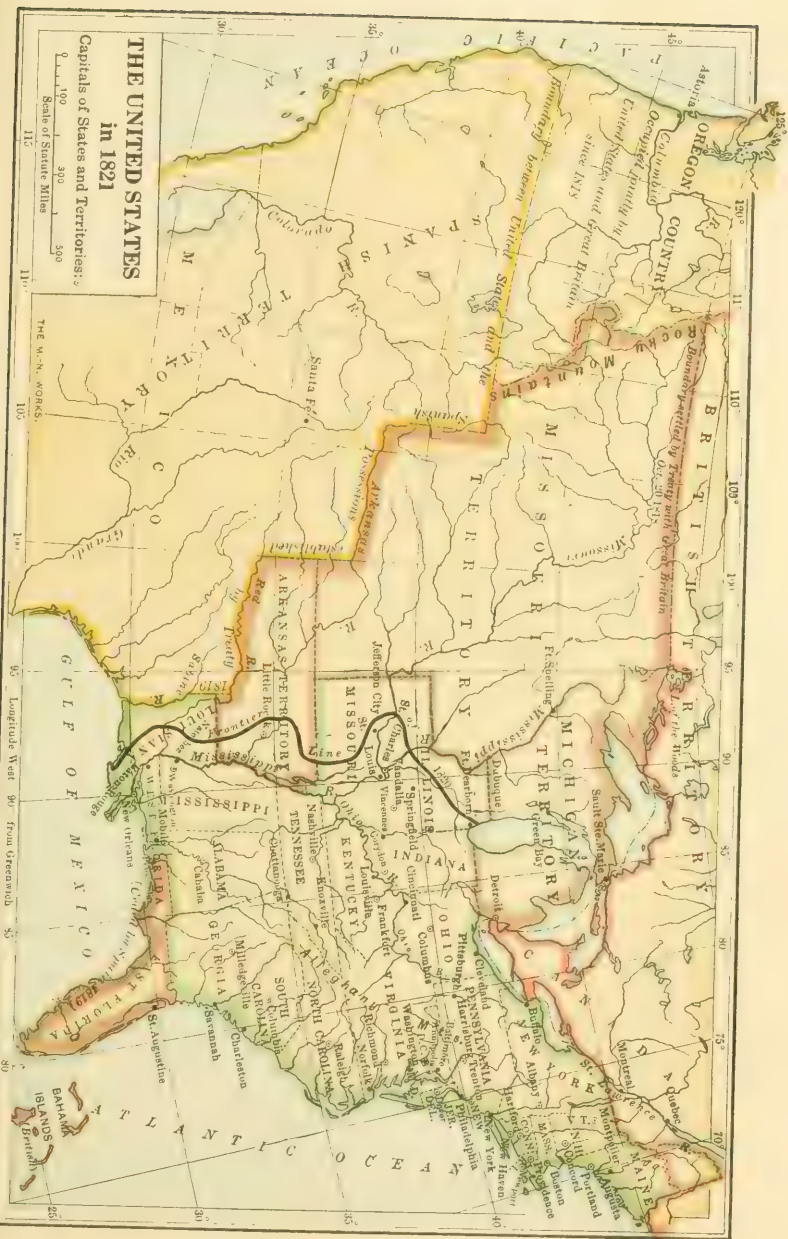
¹ The subject of the admission of Missouri gave rise to a great debate in Congress, an account of which is given in the next chapter.

THE UNITED STATES
in 1821

Capitals of States and Territories:

A horizontal scale bar labeled "Scale of Statute Miles" with markings at 0, 100, 300, and 500.

THE M.-N. WORKS.



tended to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. In 1800 the population of the United States was 5,000,000; by 1820 it had nearly doubled. In 1800 our population west of the Alleghanies was barely half a million; in 1820 it was nearly eight times as great. In 1800 the Union consisted of sixteen States; in 1821 it consisted of twenty-four States. In 1800 there were two States west of the Alleghanies; in 1821 there were nine. As State after State was admitted, the Frontier Line was, of course, pushed westward. In 1800 this line had just reached Cincinnati; by 1820 it had crossed the Mississippi and reached points as far west as Jefferson City, in Missouri, and Little Rock, in Arkansas.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States and of its admission into the Union.
2. Give the early history of Mississippi; of Alabama; of Florida.
3. What was the purpose of the Lewis and Clark expedition? Tell the story of this expedition.
4. Give the early history of the Oregon country.
5. Give an account of the settlement and growth of Missouri.
6. What great changes took place in the United States between 1800 and 1820?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1643, 1763, 1803, 1812.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Roger Williams, Washington, Franklin, Braddock, Wolfe, James Madison, Jefferson, W. H. Harrison.
3. Tell what you can about: The Northwest Territory; the Louisiana Purchase; the Embargo of 1807.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Westward Movement; Claims of Different Nations at Different Times; Indians and Indian Wars; Spain in the New World; Discovery and Exploration.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Cotton Culture in the Southwest: Bogart, 198-201.
 - (2) The Fur Trade on the Columbia: Schafer, 62-78.
 - (3) Lewis and Clark's Expedition: Hart, 206-209.

XXXII

AN ERA OF GOOD FEELING

We may now take up the story of national affairs at the point where that story was left off; that is, at the close of the administration of Madison (p. 203).

James Monroe. Madison was succeeded in the Presidency by his Secretary of State, James Monroe, who was elected President in 1816 and reëlected in 1820. Monroe was born in Virginia and belonged to that group of great Virginians who stood so long at the head of national affairs. He was not as great a man as Washington or Jefferson or Madison, yet he was fitted to make a good President. A more honest man never sat in the Presidential chair. "If his soul were turned inside out," said Jefferson, "not a blot could be found upon it." Besides being thoroughly honest, Monroe was skilled in the management of public business. We saw him (p. 189) taking a leading part in the purchase of Louisiana. During the stormy years of Madison's administration it was Monroe who, as Secretary of State, attended to the difficult questions that arose between our government and foreign governments. So when Monroe entered (in 1817) upon his duties as President he was prepared by experience to take hold of affairs with the trained hand of a master.

Era of Good Feeling. Monroe found the country in a state of peace. Quarreling with foreign countries had come to an end, and throughout the United States the people were thinking of industry and commerce rather than of war. Monroe, soon after his inauguration, made a tour of the country. He traveled through New England and northern New York, and pushed west as far as Detroit. Everywhere the people were glad to see him. The States, by 1817, were slowly becoming

knit into a real nation, and the people beheld in Monroe the chief of that nation. "The farmer left the plow in the furrow, the housewife left her clothes in the tub and her cream in the churn, and hastened to see," not James Monroe the great man, but James Monroe the President of the United States. So broad and generous was the spirit that began to prevail in Monroe's time that even the lines that divided men into political parties faded away. Because the people were united as never before, and because there was no party strife during Monroe's administration, the years of his Presidency were called the "era of good feeling."

Missouri Compromise. Although the period of Monroe's administration was called the "era of good feeling," there arose during his Presidency a subject of controversy that caused more bad feeling

than any other question in our history. This was the great slavery question. The question came up in 1818, when Missouri first applied for admission into the Union. The Northern members of Congress desired to keep slavery out of all the territory west of the Mississippi, just as it had been kept out of the Northwest Territory (p. 174). It will be remembered that by



James Monroe

Born in Virginia, in 1758; served in the Revolutionary War; member of the Virginia ratifying convention in 1788; United States Senator; minister to France; Secretary of State, 1811-17; fifth President, 1817-25; died in 1831.

1800 slavery in the North was dying out; by 1820 it was practically dead. Slave labor in the North was not profitable, and, moreover, the freemen of the North were unwilling to work side by side with slaves. In the South, by 1820, slavery was beginning to be very profitable. In the Gulf States it was becoming the very life of industry, for in these States cotton-growing was the chief occupation, and it was thought no labor was so good for the cotton-fields as slave labor. So when the question of admitting Missouri came up in Congress there was a sharp clash: the North wanted it to come in as a free State; the South wanted it to come in as a slave State.

The Missouri question was debated long and angrily, and it seemed as if the debate would never come to an end. At last, however, Congress found a way out of the difficulty. It happened that just at the time that Missouri was asking for admission as a slave State, Maine¹ also was asking admission as a free State. Here was a chance for each side to yield a little to the other, and a compromise measure was agreed upon. It was agreed (1) that Maine should come in as a free State; (2) that Missouri should come in as a slave State; but (3) that in the future slavery was to be forever prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the parallel of latitude 36° 30', the line that is the southern boundary of Missouri.

Such was the famous Missouri Compromise, the measure by which Congress (in 1820) attempted to settle the slavery question once for all. But the far-sighted men of the time saw that the slavery question would not be settled by the Compromise. Indeed, they saw that the Missouri question was only the beginning of a great struggle between the North and the South. "You have kindled a fire," said Cobb of Georgia, "which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish." "This momentous question," said Jefferson, "like a fire-bell in the

¹ Maine had belonged to Massachusetts from colonial days (p. 54), but in 1819 it was given permission to become a separate State. It was admitted in 1820.

night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union."

The Advance of Russia Checked. One of the difficult questions with which President Monroe had to deal related



The Result of the Missouri Compromise

to the advance of Russia on the western coast of North America. In the early years of the nineteenth century Russia, already in possession of Alaska, was spreading her power along the Pacific coast wherever she could get a foothold. By 1812 she had advanced as far south as California, where she built a fort. In 1821 the Emperor of Russia laid claim to the shores of the Pacific coast as far south as the fifty-first degree of latitude. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, informed the Russian minister that the United States would resent this claim, telling him that European powers would no longer be allowed to plant colonies either in North America or South America. Russia gave heed to these words of warning and agreed to make no settlements on the Pacific coast south of $54^{\circ} 40'$, the United States agreeing in turn to make no set-

lements north of that line. Thus the advance of Russia on the coast of the Pacific was checked.

The Holy Alliance and the South American Republics.

Besides attending to the Russian problem Monroe was called upon to settle another question which had a European background. Soon after the downfall of Napoleon (p. 201) the ruling monarchs of Russia, Austria and Prussia united (in 1815) and formed what they called the Holy Alliance. The professed purpose of this Alliance was to unite the countries of Europe into a Christian brotherhood, but its real purpose was to uphold the power of kings and prevent the growth of democratic government. It declared that kings received their power from God and that the people have no right to rule. It waged war upon democracy in the Old World and soon threatened a popular movement which was gaining strength in the New World. For at this time the people of South America were undertaking to govern themselves. In 1808 the Spanish colonies began to rebel and to throw off the yoke of the mother country and by 1822 Chili, Peru, Buenos Aires (now the Argentine Republic), Colombia and Venezuela, had won their independence and had been recognized by the United States as free and independent republics. All of this was very displeasing to the Holy Alliance and in 1823 it began to look as if its members, especially Russia, Prussia, and Austria, would send troops to South America, crush the young republics, and give them back to Spain.

The Monroe Doctrine. But President Monroe came forward to protect the new republics at the South. Before the Holy Alliance took any action he sent Congress a message which meant precisely what the words of Adams to the Russian minister meant. He declared in effect:

(1) That the United States would not look with favor upon the planting of any more European colonies on the continent.

(2) That the United States would not meddle in the political affairs of Europe.

(3) That the government of Europe must not meddle in American affairs.

Monroe's words of warning were listened to with respect. England gave him her full sympathy and support. At this time she was carrying on a thriving trade with South America and she feared she would lose this trade if the new republics were crushed and given back to Spain to be ruled as colonies. The opposition of England and the protest of Monroe caused the Holy Alliance to change its plans. The nations of Europe did not interfere in the affairs of South America and the new republics were allowed to enjoy their independence.

The President's message about the South American situation became known as the Monroe Doctrine. It received the warm approval of the American people and to this day it is regarded by Americans as good doctrine. What does it mean? It means that the United States will not allow European nations to acquire new possessions on the American continent. It means, in brief, America for Americans.

The Election of John Quincy Adams as President. Five candidates came forward in 1824 to succeed Monroe in the Presidency. These were Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, and William Crawford of Georgia. Before the election was held, however, Calhoun withdrew to become the candidate for Vice-President. When the electoral votes in the election of 1824 were counted, Jackson had received 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. Nobody had a majority, so the election had to go to the House of Representatives. The House, in obedience to the Constitution, was compelled to choose from the three highest on the list of persons voted for by the electors. It could not, therefore, vote for Clay. Clay was the Speaker of the House at the time, and had great influence with its members. If he could not himself be chosen, he could at least name the successful candidate. This he did; he threw his strength to Adams, and thus brought about his election. Adams was no sooner inaugurated than he made Clay Secretary of State. Thereupon the Jackson men raised a cry that a corrupt bargain

had been made. Clay, they said, had helped Adams because Adams had promised to give Clay the highest place in his cabinet.

But the Jackson men were mistaken. No bargain was made, for John Quincy Adams would not stoop to make a bargain. He appointed Clay simply because he thought the brilliant Kentuckian would make a good Secretary of State. The appointment was an act of duty, for Adams never left the path of duty. He was so faithful to duty and so strict and honest in his actions that he seemed to lean backward in his desire to do right. But he was cold and stiff in his manner, and it has been said of him that at every step he took he made an enemy. Certainly he was as unpopular as any man that ever sat in the presidential chair.

The Tariff Question Comes to the Front. While John Quincy Adams was President there came to the front a question which has always occupied a large share of the attention of the American people. This was the tariff question. We learned that a tariff law was passed in 1789 by the first Congress (p. 165). In 1816 another important tariff measure was enacted. The Embargo of 1807 and the War of 1812 cut us off from the foreign trade and threw us upon our own resources. As a result our manufacturing industries increased. Soon we were making our own furniture, our own boots and shoes, and our own candles. In 1814 Francis Lowell placed power-looms in his factory at Waltham, Massachusetts, and it was not many years before the mills of New England were supplying us with all the cotton goods we needed. After the War of 1812, however, American manufacturers were compelled to compete with foreign-made goods. English manufacturers rushed into our market with their wares "as if to the attack of a fortress." In order to shut out some of these foreign goods and protect American manufacturers, Congress in 1816 raised the tariff on woolen and cotton goods and on carriages, shoes, and paper. It imposed this tariff not so much for the sake of revenue as for the sake of protecting American manufacturers in the home market. We may re-

gard the tariff of 1816, therefore, as the beginning of the American policy of protection to home manufacturers.

The tariff of 1816 proved to be disappointing to the manufacturers. In spite of the higher duties English goods continued to flood our markets. So Congress was asked to give more protection. It responded with the tariff of 1824 which increased the duties on wool and woolen goods, on hemp, on pig iron, and on iron manufactures. But even the tariff of 1824 did not give entire satisfaction to the manufacturers. Accordingly, the tariff of 1828 was enacted. This law raised the duties higher than they had ever been and carried the protective principle beyond any point it had yet reached. The tariff of 1828 suited the manufacturers of the North, but

it displeased the Southern people who had no manufacturers to be protected. The South had only tobacco and rice to sell, and it desired to sell these wherever it could get the highest price, and it desired to buy manufactured articles in the cheapest market, whether that market was at home or abroad.

So dissatisfied were the people of the South with the tariff of 1828 that they called it the "tariff of abominations." In Charleston, South Carolina, when the passage of the bill was



John Quincy Adams

Born in Massachusetts, in 1767, son of President John Adams; minister to the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, and England; Secretary of State, 1817-25; sixth President, 1825-29; member of Congress, 1831-48; died in 1848.

announced, flags were displayed at half-mast in the harbor, and at public meetings the people were urged not to buy the manufactures of the North. Thus the tariff was the cause of a second clash between the North and the South; the two sections clashed on the subject of slavery and they clashed on the subject of the tariff.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the character of James Monroe? In what respects was he well-fitted for the Presidency?
2. Describe Monroe's tour. Why was the period of Monroe's administration known as the "era of good feeling"?
3. How did the North regard slavery in 1820? How did the South regard it in 1820? What was the Missouri Compromise?
4. Give an account of the advance of Russia on the Pacific coast.
5. What was the Holy Alliance? What were its purposes?
6. Tell what you can about the Monroe Doctrine.
7. Give an account of the election of John Quincy Adams. Describe his character.
8. Sketch the history of the tariff up to 1828. Why was the tariff opposed in the South?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1787 (2), 1803, 1812.
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, George Calvert, Daniel Boone, Andrew Jackson, W. H. Harrison.
3. Tell what you can about: Life in the Backwoods; the Convention of 1787; the Ordinance of 1787; the Whisky Insurrection.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Slavery; Foreign Relations since 1789; the Presidents; their Election and Inauguration; the Tariff; Population; European Background.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Missouri Compromise: Hart, 234-237.
 - (2) John Quincy Adams: Brooks, 202-218; Faris, 135-146.
 - (3) James Monroe: Brooks, 188-201.

XXXIII

THE PEOPLE COME INTO POWER

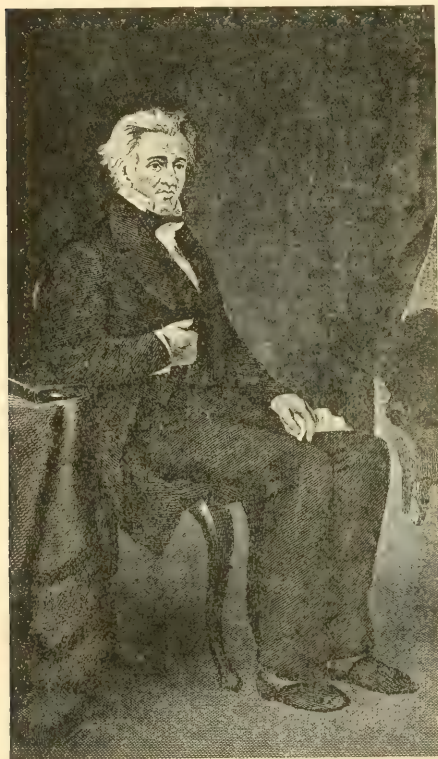
For a number of years following the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson was the chief of American leaders. He was not only the nation's President, but he was also the overshadowing figure in public life. He was the idol of the common people, and it was from them that he gained his power; for democracy was now growing stronger and the people were coming forward and showing that they were the real masters of government.

Growth of Democracy. In the Presidential election of 1824 Andrew Jackson proved to be a strong candidate because he relied upon the people for his power. And he did well to rely upon them, for they now had much greater influence in matters of government than they had ever had before. In the early days of the Republic political affairs were conducted by the rich and educated classes. Many of the common people, you remember, did not even have the right to vote (p. 184). But as the republic grew older, democracy gained strength. The poor as well as the rich were allowed to vote.

Especially was this true in the free and rising West, where the principles of democracy were always strong. In Ohio and Indiana and Illinois every grown man was allowed to vote, whether he had any property or not. In the new States of the South, also, every grown white man enjoyed the privilege of voting. Indeed, by Jackson's time, in almost every State in the Union property qualifications for voting had been done away with entirely and all grown white men were allowed to vote. Democracy was thus becoming a giant. But its growth was by no means complete, for in no State had the suffrage yet been granted to women.

Election of Andrew Jackson. Jackson felt that he had

not been treated fairly by Clay and Adams in 1825, and his defeat in that year caused him to work harder than ever for the Presidency. He at once announced himself as a Presidential candidate for election in 1828. He resigned his seat in the United States Senate, and as a private citizen went before the people, asking them for their votes. Jackson under-



Andrew Jackson

Born in North Carolina, in 1767; died in Tennessee, in 1845.

stood men, and he knew how to win them to his side. Adams was the rival candidate, but in a race for popular favor the cold, dignified Puritan could hardly hope to win against the dashing, daring hero of the West. When the electoral vote was counted, Jackson had 178 votes and Adams 83.

Character of Jackson.

Jackson was the strongest and most striking character of his time. The early manhood of this remarkable man was spent in the backwoods of Tennessee. We have already met with him as the terror of the Indians of the Gulf States and as the victor at the battle of New Orleans.

Jackson's early education was neglected. He could not spell correctly, and he could not write good English. In 1796 he appeared on the floor of Congress, a tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair over his face and a queue down his back tied in an eelskin. In 1798 he was a member of

the Senate, where he came under the calm eye of Vice-President Jefferson, who wrote of him: "His passions are terrible; he could not speak on account of the rashness of his feelings. I have seen him attempt it repeatedly and as often choke with rage."

But Jackson outgrew this roughness and violence of manner. By the time he was a candidate for the Presidency he had his temper well under control and his manners were those of a polished gentleman. His will was so strong that it was terrible. When he once determined to do a thing, he hurried on to its accomplishment, and nothing could turn him from his purpose. Friends and foes alike were unable to shake his resolution, and friends and foes alike were trampled upon when they stood as obstacles in his way.

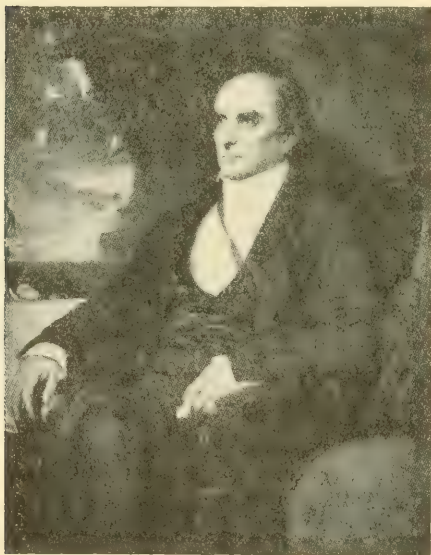
The Spoils System. On the day of Jackson's inauguration (March 4, 1829) it could be seen plainly enough that the people had come into power. Washington was crowded to overflowing with visitors shouting and hurrahing for "Old Hickory"—the new President's nickname. Most of these shouters were office-seekers asking for the places held by postmasters, clerks, custom-house officers, and other officials of the national government. Before Jackson's time these officials were allowed to remain in office as long as they conducted themselves properly and did their work well. But when Jackson came into power he dismissed great numbers of these office-holders in order to make room for his faithful followers. He looked upon the offices as the spoils of political warfare and he believed in the maxim, "to the victor belong the spoils."

South Carolina and Nullification. The tariff question, which began to give trouble under Adams, grew far more troublesome under Jackson. We have seen (p. 225) that the people of South Carolina, in their resentment against the tariff of 1828, resolved not to buy the goods of Northern manufacturers. Soon their resentment grew still stronger, and it was not long before they began to talk of destroying the effect of the law entirely by refusing to pay the duties on goods brought

into their harbors. Could they rightfully do this? Could a State thus disobey a law of Congress? This was the old question of nullification, which came up first in 1799 (p. 180) and later in 1814 (p. 201). In 1830 the question came up in the Senate of the United States and gave rise to one of the most famous debates in our history.

In this debate Senator Hayne of South Carolina spoke on the side of nullification. He contended that when the national government passed a law that was contrary to the Constitution of the United States, the State government had a right to step in and prevent the law from going into effect. He also contended that each State should decide for itself whether a law was contrary to the Constitution or not, and if a State found that a law of Congress was contrary to the Constitution, it had the right to disobey that law. Hayne spoke for two days and made a speech of great power.

Senator Hayne was answered by Daniel Webster, Senator from Massachusetts. Webster had served many years in Con-



Daniel Webster

Born in New Hampshire, in 1782; died at Marshfield, Massachusetts, in 1852.

gress, and was famous as a statesman and orator. His reply to Hayne was one of the greatest speeches ever made in the history of the world. He saw danger in the doctrine of nullification, and he attacked it with all the force of his powerful mind. As he spoke, his words seemed "to flow in a steady stream of molten gold." He denied flatly the right of a State to disobey a law of the United States. A law of Congress, he contended,

must be obeyed by all the States and by all the people of all the States. He denied also that a State had the right to judge for itself whether a law was contrary to the Constitution or not. Only the Supreme Court of the United States had the right to decide that a law was contrary to the Constitution. "If each State," he said, "had the right to find judgment on questions in which she is interested, is not the whole Union a rope of sand?" And it was in behalf of the Union that Webster spoke. He felt that nullification would lead to the breaking up of the Union, and he closed his speech with a stirring plea for "liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

But the people of South Carolina held firmly to their nullification views. In 1832 Congress passed a tariff law that was even more displeasing to the South than the "tariff of abominations." South Carolina now determined to act. The legislature of the State called a convention to decide whether or not the new tariff act should be obeyed. The convention met in Columbia in November, and declared that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were null and void—were without the force of law—and that they need not be obeyed by the State or by its officers or citizens. The convention went further and declared that if the government of the United States attempted to carry out the tariff laws within the borders of South Carolina, that State would withdraw from the Union and would have nothing further to do with the United States. In order to show that it was in earnest the State armed itself and prepared for war.

Jackson promptly informed South Carolina that the laws of the United States must be obeyed by the people of all the States, and he warned her to beware of the danger into which she was running. "If force should be necessary," he said, "I will have 40,000 men in the State of South Carolina to put down resistance and enforce the law." To a member of Congress from South Carolina he said: "Please give my compliments to my friends in your State, and say to them that if a single drop of blood be shed there in opposition to the laws

of the United States, I will hang the first man I lay my hands on engaged in such treasonable conduct upon the first tree I can reach." But no blood was shed. Before any blows were actually struck, Henry Clay, always ready to settle quarrels by a compromise, came forward in Congress with a tariff that was more favorable to the South. His bill provided that there should be a gradual reduction of duties, so that by 1842 there would be a uniform duty of twenty per cent. upon all dutiable articles, and that no article thereafter should pay a higher duty than twenty per cent. The tariff law as amended was passed, South Carolina obeyed it, and the nullification movement came to an end.

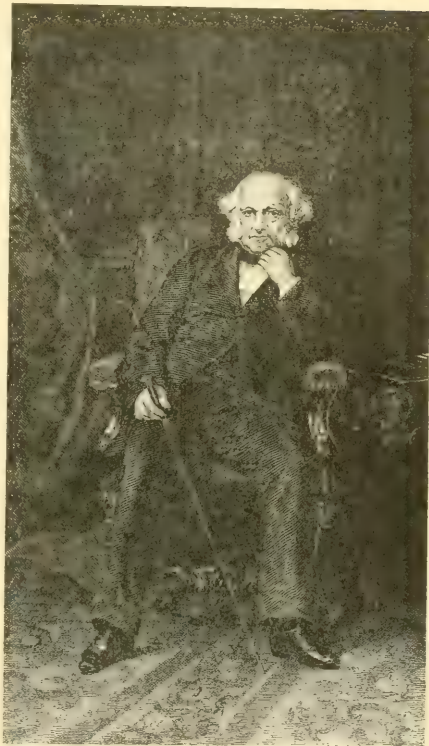
Jackson and the Bank of the United States. At the time Jackson was having so much trouble with South Carolina, his first term was drawing to a close. He was growing old and feeble and did not really care for a second term. But there was one thing he had set his heart upon doing that he had not yet done: he desired before he left the Presidency to destroy the Bank of the United States (p. 166). This bank had been rechartered in 1816 for a period of twenty years. Jackson was always its enemy. So great was his hatred of it that he could not bear even to hear its name mentioned. He believed it was creating a monopoly in money matters, and, like all Americans, he hated monopoly of any kind. In 1832 he refused to sign a bill to renew the bank's charter, which was to expire in 1836. The bank continued its efforts to secure a new charter. Jackson, in order to defeat the plans of the bank, consented to be a candidate for reelection. Clay, a strong friend of the bank, was nominated for the Presidency in opposition to Jackson.

The Presidential election of 1832 was remarkable for several reasons. It was the first election in which the candidates were nominated by great national conventions, as they are now. It was also the first election in which the parties set forth their principles in platforms, as they do now. Then, too, the candidates in 1832 were both remarkable men. Clay was a popular hero as well as Jackson. He was the idol of Ken-

tucky, and a great favorite in all parts of the country. As an orator he was second only to Webster. In Congress, whether in the House or in the Senate, he was always the leader. Yet in a political fight he was no match for "Old Hickory." When the result of the election of 1832 was made known, Jackson had 219 electoral votes and Clay 49.

After this victory at the polls, Jackson's warfare upon the bank became more bitter than ever. In 1833 he ordered the collectors of United States revenue to deposit no more money in the bank, and the money that was already drawn on deposit — about \$10,000,000 — he caused to be drawn out. The bank, of course, fought for its life; but its struggle was in vain: it expired with its charter in 1836.

Martin Van Buren; the Panic of 1837. When Jackson left the Presidency he enjoyed the confidence of the people and he had full control of his party. He therefore could easily name the man who was to succeed him in the Presidential chair, and this he did not hesitate to do. In the election of 1836 he chose as his candidate for President Martin Van Buren of New York, and Van Buren was elected.



Martin Van Buren

Born at Kinderhook, New York, in 1782; governor of New York, 1828-29; Secretary of State, 1829-31; sent as minister to Great Britain in 1831; Vice-President, 1833-37; eighth President, 1837-41; died in 1862.

At his inauguration (March 4, 1837), Van Buren promised the people that he would "tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." The new President, however, was to learn that Jackson had not left him a path of roses in which to tread. He had scarcely entered upon his duties when he had to face a panic — a period of "hard times." The year 1837 was one of great distress throughout the country. Mills and factories were shut down, business houses closed their doors, workmen were thrown out of employment, and in the larger cities thousands suffered for want of food. Everywhere money was scarce and prices high.

The Election of 1840. Although Van Buren was not responsible for the hard times, the people held him responsible. So before the end of his term he found himself a very unpopular man. Still, in 1840 the Democrats nominated him for a second term. The Whig party — as the party opposed to the Democrats was now called — nominated William Henry Harrison, the Tippecanoe victor (p. 207), for President, and John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. Clay desired the nomination for the Presidency and was bitterly disappointed when he failed to receive it.

The campaign of 1840 was noisy and exciting. Harrison was a plain man, living in a plain way on a farm in Ohio, and



The People's Line--Take care of the Locomotive
Sold at 104 Nassau, and 1st Division Streets New-York.

A Cartoon Used in the Campaign of 1840

an Eastern newspaper suggested that it would be better for the country if he would remain there, declaring with a sneer that the candidate would be more at home "in a log cabin, drinking cider and skinning coons, than living in the White House as President." As vast

numbers of the voters were themselves living in log cabins, the Whigs could make good use of this sneer, and they did so. "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" was taken up as the campaign cry. Log cabins were set on wheels and drawn in processions. Men wore log-cabin buttons, smoked log-cabin cigars, and sang log-cabin songs. The log-cabin candidate became a popular hero, and everywhere there was shouting for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." As a result of this enthusiasm Harrison was elected by a large majority. Jackson could not save even his own State of Tennessee for Van Buren, and Van Buren could not save even his own State of New York for himself.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What gains had democracy made by Jackson's time?
2. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1828.
3. Describe the character of Jackson.
4. Explain how and why the "spoils system" was introduced.
5. What caused South Carolina to begin a nullification movement? Give an account of the debate between Hayne and Webster. Describe the nullification movement of 1832. What was Jackson's attitude toward nullification?
6. Why did Jackson consent to be a candidate for reelection? In what respects was the election of 1832 remarkable? What did Jackson do to destroy the Bank of the United States?
7. Who succeeded Jackson as President? Describe the panic of 1837.
8. Tell the story of the exciting election of 1840.

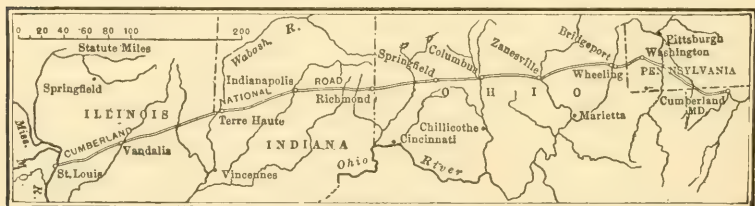
REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1522, 1664, 1783, 1789, 1820.
2. Persons: William Penn, Samuel Adams, Hamilton, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun.
3. Tell what you can about: the Louisiana Purchase; the Embargo of 1807; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Nullification and Secession; The Tariff; Banks and the Currency.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Daniel Webster: Coe, 283-291; Faris, 159-172.
 - (2) John Calhoun: Coe, 291-296; Chandler, 241-247.
 - (3) Henry Clay: Coe, 296-303; Chandler, 225-233.
 - (4) Andrew Jackson: Brooks, 231-247.

TRANSPORTATION AND WESTERN DEVELOPMENT

In the last two chapters we followed the course of our political history from the beginning of Monroe's administration to the close of Van Buren's, that is, from 1817 to 1841 — a period of nearly a quarter of a century. While our statesmen during this period were struggling with great political problems, business men and toilers were working with all their might to develop our wonderful resources.

Extension of the National Road. A marked feature of our progress between 1820 and 1840 consisted in improving the means of communication between the different parts of the country. One great improvement was the extension of the National Road. We saw (p. 205) that by 1818 this road had reached Wheeling. In 1824 plans were laid for extending it still farther westward, and by 1840 it had passed through Zanesville and Columbus, in Ohio; through Richmond, Indianapolis, and Terre Haute, in Indiana; and on through



The National Road

Illinois as far as Vandalia. This great highway was thus carried through the central portions of three large States.

For many years the National Road played a most important part in the life of the Western people. Traffic on the road was so heavy that it presented a picture of an almost endless procession of moving figures — coaches, wagons, carts, travelers on horseback and on foot, and cattle of every description. Families of emigrants in large covered wagons were always

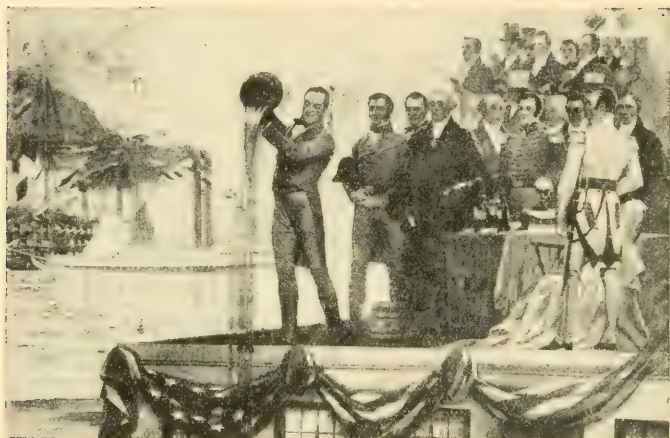
moving westward, while drovers with their cattle were always making their way to the markets of the East. So crowded



Erie Canal, Pennsylvania Canal, and Baltimore and Ohio Railway

was the highway at times that it resembled a street in a city.

The Erie Canal; the Pennsylvania Canal. But an event of far greater importance than the extension of the National Road was the completing and opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. We learned (p. 206) that the effect of steamboat navigation in the West was to build up the trade of the Mississippi valley. The Ohio farmer could ship his grain by water to New Orleans, and receive a price sufficient to pay the freight and still leave a fair profit; but if he should send it by land over the mountains to the Atlantic seaboard, the cost of transportation would be more, perhaps, than the grain was worth. So



© C. Y. Turner.

The Marriage of the Great Lakes and the Ocean

it was as natural for the Western trade to find its way to the Gulf ports as it was for water to run down hill. But the business men of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore saw that they would suffer great loss if the Western trade were allowed to slip away from them. The National Road, to be sure, would save to the East a part of that trade; but, at the best, goods could not be moved as cheaply on roads as on rivers. The people of the seaboard, therefore, began to look to artificial rivers, that is, *canals*, as a means of securing the Western trade.

Canal-building on a large scale began in 1817, when De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, turned the first spadeful of earth on the Erie Canal, which was to extend from Buffalo to Albany and to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson River. The work of digging the "great ditch" was carried forward in earnest, and in 1825 the canal was completed and thrown open to the public.

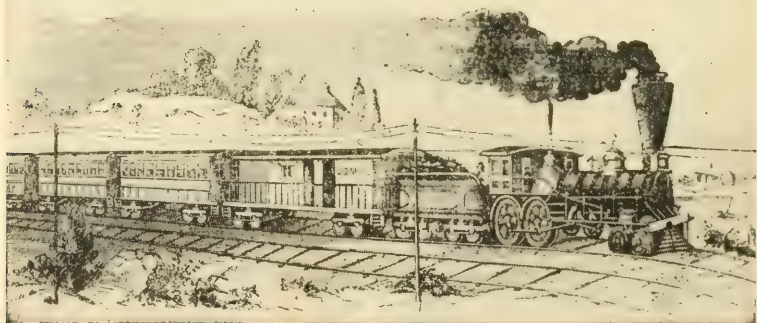
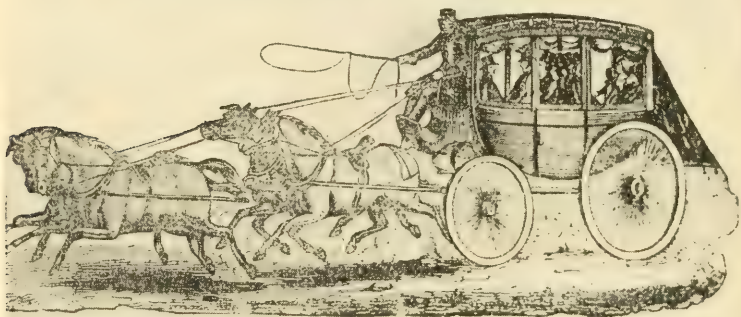
The opening of the canal was celebrated in a manner worthy of so great an event. On the 26th of October a fleet of gaily decorated boats left Buffalo and moved slowly eastward along the canal, "saluted by music, musketry, and the cheers of the

crowds along the bank." On the morning of the 4th of November the procession of boats reached New York. A flask of water from Lake Erie was poured into New York Bay by Governor Clinton, and the waters of the Great Lakes were declared to be united forever in marriage with the waters of the ocean.

Before the Erie Canal was built it cost \$100 to carry a ton of goods from Buffalo to New York; the canal reduced the cost to less than \$20. The cheap freight rates caused trade to flow in great volume toward the canal. Within a year after its opening the canal bore on its quiet waters many thousands of boats and rafts laden with lumber, grain, furs, and merchandise of all kinds. Villages and towns sprang up along the line of the canal from one end to the other. Western New York indeed "blossomed as the rose." Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo rapidly developed into flourishing cities. But the greatest thing done by the Erie Canal was to build up the trade of New York City and make it the commercial center of the United States and of the Western Hemisphere.

The Erie Canal was hardly finished before the State of Pennsylvania also began to construct a system of canals from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. It was necessary to do this if Philadelphia was to hold her Western trade. In 1826 work on the Pennsylvania Canal was begun, and nine years later one could travel by a horse-railway from Philadelphia to the town of Columbia, on the Susquehanna; thence by a canal along the Susquehanna and Juniata to Hollidaysburg; thence over the mountains by a portage railway to Johnstown; and thence by canal to Pittsburgh.

Railroads. It was necessary also for Baltimore to have an easy route to the West; but the men of this city looked to the railroad rather than to the canal as a means of communication. On the Fourth of July, 1828, the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who fifty-two years before had signed the Declaration of Independence, laid the corner-stone of a railroad that was to connect Baltimore and the Ohio River. At first the cars on the railroad were drawn by horses, but in



Progress in Travel and Transportation

1830 a steam-locomotive, invented by Peter Cooper, was put upon the tracks for a trial trip between Baltimore and Ellicott Mills. The distance was thirteen miles. The trip was made in an hour and twelve minutes. On the same day on which the trial trip was made, the locomotive had a race with a horse drawing a car running on a parallel track. The locomotive at first kept the lead, but an accident happened to the machine, and in the end the horse won the race. Still, the trial trip of Cooper's locomotive was in the main successful, and marked the beginning of the great Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which by 1853 had climbed over the mountains to Wheeling and had saved to Baltimore her Western trade.

Michigan. Besides building up western New York, the Erie Canal was also a powerful factor in the development of the country bordering on the Great Lakes. Its influence spread rapidly across northern Ohio and was soon felt in the Michigan country.

In 1805 the lower peninsula of Michigan was cut off from Indiana Territory and organized as Michigan Territory, with William Hull (p. 198) as the first Governor and Detroit as the first capital. But it was a wild and desolate country that Hull went out to govern. The great forests of Michigan were still as unbroken and untrodden as when, two hundred years before, they were explored by the followers of Champlain. The only inhabitants were the Indians and a few Frenchmen. The only settlements were Detroit, Mackinaw, and Frenchtown. The chief occupation of the region was fur-trading.

In 1818 the steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water* appeared at Detroit, and the next year advanced to Mackinaw, where the savages were made to believe that the strange-looking vessel was drawn by a team of trained sturgeon. The appearance of the steamboat on the Great Lakes was followed in 1825 by the opening of the Erie Canal. A new era now dawned upon Michigan. Throngs of emigrants from New York and New England soon began to make their way to the shores of the upper lakes. The Michigan country now filled up rapidly with people, and in 1837 Michigan was admitted as a State.

Removal of the Indians; Arkansas. The rapid development in the country around the Great Lakes between 1820 and 1840 was matched by a development equally rapid in the South



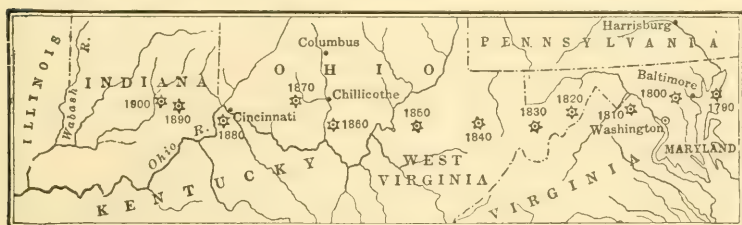
Picking Cotton

and Southwest. The cotton kingdom was greatly enlarged by the removal of the Indians from the South. When the red men of the South had been subdued by Jackson (p. 212), they had for the most part been allowed to remain on their lands. In 1820 more than 50,000 Indians — Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and others — were living in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and were occupying upward of 30,000,000 acres of land. Much of this was the best land in the South, and the white man, of course, longed to become its possessor. By a series of treaties with the national government, the Indians consented to surrender their lands east of the Mississippi to the United States, and to receive in return grants of land west of the Mississippi, in the country known as the "Indian Territory." In accordance with these treaties the Indians were gradually removed across the Mississippi, and by 1840 but few of them were left in their old homes in the South. The vacant Indian lands were filled up by planters with their slaves and given over to the cultivation of cotton.

The cotton kingdom was still further enlarged by the admission of Arkansas, which was organized as a Territory in 1819. The new Territory received an overflow of population from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, and its growth was rapid. Its soil was adapted to the raising of cotton, and slaves were employed in the cultivation of its fields. In 1835 Arkansas Territory had a population sufficient for Statehood, and the next year it was admitted into the Union.

Western Development between 1820 and 1840. During this period our population nearly doubled, increasing from 9,638,000 in 1820 to 17,169,000 in 1840. The increase was greatest in the West, where the development of the country continued at a remarkable rate. By 1840 the Ohio valley was almost an empire in itself. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had a combined population of nearly three millions, while Kentucky and Tennessee together could count more than a million and a half. Ohio ranked third in population, and was almost as populous as Pennsylvania, while Tennessee ranked fourth and was more populous than Massachusetts. As the Western country filled up with people the area of settlement was extended and the Frontier Line, of course, was carried westward. In 1820 this line ran pretty close to the Mississippi River; by 1840 it had moved as far west as the Great Northern bend of the Missouri. (See the colored map opposite page 259.)

The Center of Population. The rapidity of this western development is shown by the rate at which the center of population was moving toward the West. In 1800 the center of population was about eighteen miles west of Baltimore. This



Center of Population

point in its westward movement followed closely the thirty-ninth parallel. In 1810 the center of population had moved to a point forty miles west of Washington. By 1840 it had crossed the Alleghanies, and in 1860 it was half-way across the State of Ohio.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give the history of the National Road between 1820 and 1840.
2. Why did the Eastern States need canal communication with the West? Tell the story of the Erie Canal. What were some of the effects of this canal? Why was the Pennsylvania Canal built? What was the route of this canal?
3. Give the early history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
4. What was the early history of Michigan?
5. Tell the story of the removal of the Indians; of the growth and admission of Arkansas.
6. Give an account of Western development between 1820 and 1840. Describe the Frontier Line in 1840.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1689, 1820, 1825.
2. Persons: Cabot, Drake, Raleigh, Edmund Andros, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Van Buren, Webster.
3. Tell what you can about: the *Invincible Armada*; Bacon's Rebellion; the Stamp Act; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the Spoils System.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Means of Communication; The Westward Movement; Indians and Indian Wars; Slavery; English Colonization; Commerce.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Erie Canal: Brigham, 40-53.
 - (2) The National Road: Brigham, 86-98.
 - (3) The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad: Brigham, 98-110.
 - (4) Canals: Bogart, 208-212.
 - (5) Steamboats and Railroads: Eggleston, 277-280; Coe, 225-241.
 - (6) Peter Cooper: Faris, 173-184.

XXXV

CARRYING THE FLAG TO THE PACIFIC

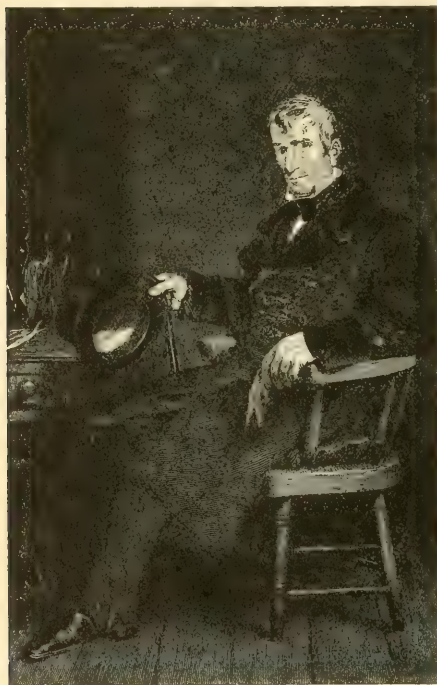
By 1840 much of the best land east of the Mississippi had been taken, and pioneers had begun to push out into the unoccupied lands of the far West. This pressure of population westward and this hunger for new land resulted, between 1840 and 1850, in carrying our flag to the Pacific and in adding more than a million of square miles of territory to our national domain. The chief aim of this chapter will be to give an account of this enormous westward extension.

Death of Harrison: John Tyler Becomes President. We learned (p. 234) that in 1840, after an exciting campaign, William Henry Harrison was elected President. Harrison was inaugurated March 4, 1841; but precisely one month after his inauguration he died. John Tyler, the Vice-President, now became President. Tyler had been elected by the Whigs, but he was a Democrat at heart. He had left the Democrats chiefly because he hated Jackson. He loved Clay and wanted to see him elected President, and when Harrison was nominated instead of Clay, Tyler is said to have burst into tears.

When Tyler became President he turned his back upon the Whigs and acted in a way to suit the Democrats. Congress, under the leadership of Clay, passed a bill to reëstablish the Bank of the United States, but Tyler was strongly opposed to such a bank and vetoed the bill. Congress passed a second bank bill similar to the first, and again Tyler used the veto. Then all the members of Tyler's cabinet except Webster, who was Secretary of State, resigned. Webster remained in the cabinet in order to settle with England the question of the true boundary line between Maine and Canada. The boundary line was fixed in 1842 by an agreement known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty.

Tyler, after the resignation of his cabinet, found himself alone. He had lost the powerful support of Clay; Congress was against him; and he had no party on his side, for the Whigs felt that he had basely deserted them and the Democrats did not trust him.

Annexation of Texas. Although Tyler was without a party, he was nevertheless a very active President. It was he who brought about the annexation of Texas. In 1836 Texas, then one of the States of Mexico, declared its independence of the mother country, and under the leadership of Sam Houston, an American, defeated the Mexican army at San Jacinto. The Texans had no sooner gained their independence than they



William Henry Harrison

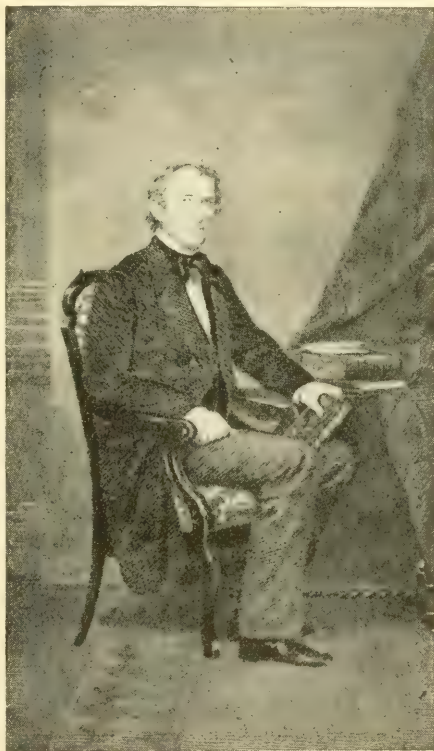
Born in Virginia, in 1773; delegate to Congress; governor of Indiana Territory; member of Congress and of the Senate; minister to Colombia; ninth President; died at Washington, D. C., April 4, 1841.

applied for admission into the Union. Their desire to be a part of the United States was natural enough, for most of them were Americans. Of the sixty signers of the Texas declaration of independence fifty-three were citizens of the United States. Tyler was strongly in favor of admitting Texas. He arranged a treaty of annexation, but the Senate rejected the treaty.

In 1844 the Democrats nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee for President, and declared squarely for the annexation of Texas and for the occupation

of Oregon. The Whigs nominated Clay and kept silent on the Texas question. The Democratic cry in the campaign was, "The Northwest and the Southwest," which meant that, if Polk won, both the Oregon country and Texas would be added to the Union. Polk was elected, and Tyler, feeling sure that the people of the country were in favor of annexing Texas, urged Congress to annex it at once. Congress took the matter up, and three days before Tyler went out of office a joint resolution annexing Texas to the United States passed (March 1, 1845) in both houses. The terms of the resolution were accepted by the Texans with an outburst of joy, and a State seven times as large as England was added to our Union. By the annexation of Texas the area of the cotton kingdom was greatly enlarged and the institution of slavery was greatly strengthened.

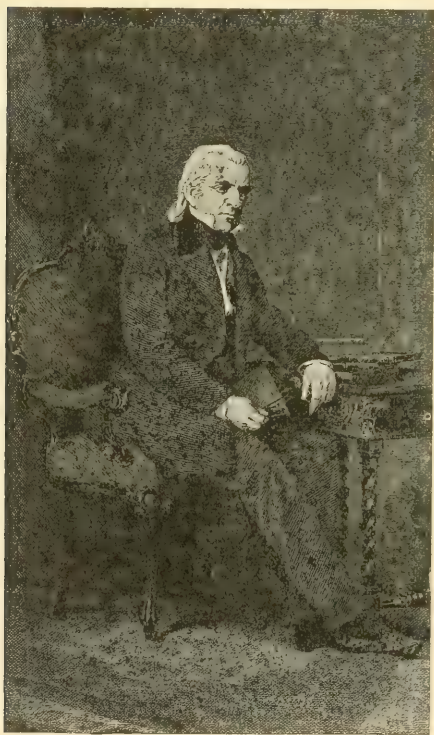
The Oregon Country. Polk had promised that the Oregon country as well as Texas should be brought into the Union. As soon as he took his seat, therefore, he began to push the claims of the United States to the vast region lying



John Tyler

Born in Virginia, in 1790; governor of Virginia, 1825-27; member of the Senate, 1827-36; elected Vice-President, 1840; succeeded as tenth President upon the death of Harrison; member of Confederate provisional congress; died in 1862.

between the crest of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific and extending from the forty-second parallel of north latitude to the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$ north (map, p. 215). This was territory which was still being held in joint occupation by England and the United States (p. 216). The joint occupation was brought to an end by Polk in 1846, when he claimed Oregon as belonging wholly to the United States. England yielded to the claim and withdrew, leaving the United States in possession. In the treaty, however, that gave us Oregon it was agreed that England should have the possession of that part of the country lying north of the forty-ninth parallel. The



James K. Polk

Born in North Carolina, in 1795; studied law; member of Congress; governor of Tennessee, 1839-41; eleventh President, 1845-49; died in Tennessee in 1849.

territory acquired by this Oregon treaty was about as large as Texas. It included what are now the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and Montana — in all about 280,000 square miles.

War with Mexico.

But Polk's heart was set upon acquiring California as well as Oregon. California at this time really belonged to Mexico, but the Mexican government was so weak that it could neither control nor defend the distant province. This part of the Pacific coast was, therefore, exposed to the attack of foreign



Scene of the War with Mexico

powers, and Polk feared that if California was not seized by the Americans it would be seized by England or by France.

Before California was acquired the Mexican War began. There was a dispute between Mexico and our government as to the rightful boundaries of Texas. Mexico claimed the land between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. Texas also claimed this land, and when it became one of the States of our Union its claims were, of course, defended by the government of the United States. Polk did not wish to wage war against Mexico if he could help it, so he tried to arrange for a treaty that would make war unnecessary. But Mexico preferred to fight. Mexican troops were sent into the dis-

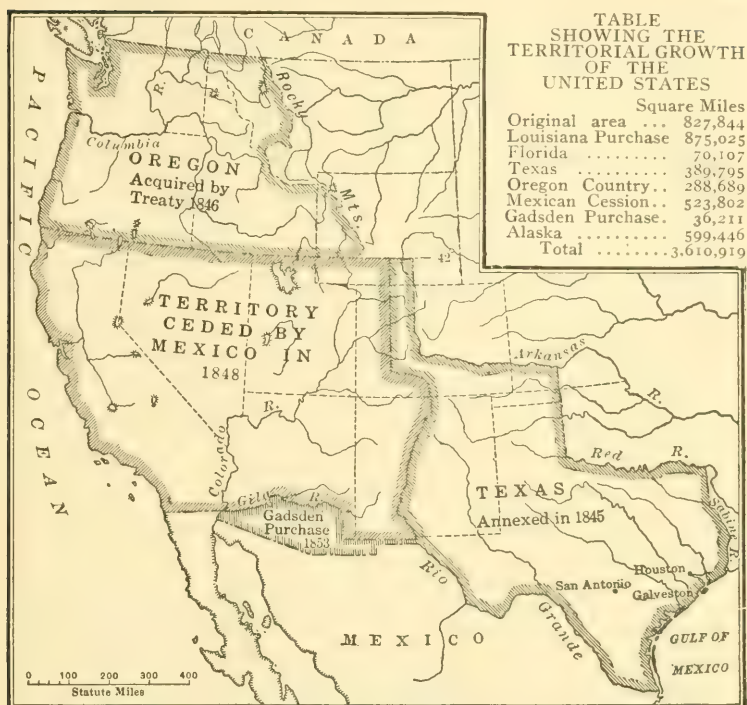
puted territory between the Rio Grande and the Nueces, where American troops had already been stationed. In April, 1846, the two armies met, fighting began, and war was declared.

Polk desired a short war and one in which there would be little shedding of blood. He went into the conflict with the sword in one hand and the olive-branch of peace in the other. General Winfield Scott (p. 200) was at the time the commanding general of the army, but Zachary Taylor — old "Rough and Ready," as he was called — was at first given command in Mexico. In September, 1846, Taylor moved an army of 7000 men against Monterey, which was defended by a garrison of 10,000 soldiers. After three days of sharp fighting, Monterey surrendered.

General Scott himself now appeared upon the scene of war with plans for the capture of Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico, and in order to strengthen himself for the expedition he withdrew from Taylor a large body of experienced officers and troops. In February, 1847, Taylor, with a greatly reduced army, was compelled to meet the Mexican General Santa Anna at Buena Vista, where was fought the greatest battle of the war. The Mexicans greatly outnumbered the Americans, but through the excellent generalship of Taylor the Americans won the victory.

On March 9, 1847, General Scott began to land his army of 12,000 men at Vera Cruz, and on March 29 the city had surrendered. Scott now pushed on to the City of Mexico. He defeated the Mexicans at the pass of Cerro Gordo, and advanced to Puebla, where, in accordance with the policy of Polk, he offered to the Mexicans the "olive-branch of peace." The Mexicans refused the offer of peace and rallied their forces for the further defense of their country. But it was of no use. Scott marched on to victory after victory. On September 8 he took Molino del Rey; on September 13 he carried by storm Chapultepec, a strong fortress that overlooked the City of Mexico; and on September 14 he entered the capital with his army and raised the American flag.

Conquest of New Mexico and California; Treaty of Gua-



The Westward Extension

Salvador Hidalgo. With the capture of the City of Mexico the Mexican War practically was brought to a close. California, the great prize of the war, had been taken almost before the war had actually begun. As early as June, 1846, Colonel Stephen Kearny left Fort Leavenworth and marched to Santa Fé. After capturing Santa Fé and taking possession of all New Mexico, he marched on to California. Upon arriving there, however, he found that American settlers had already declared California to be an independent republic and that the country had already been won for the Americans by Lieutenant John C. Frémont, who was in command of a small body of soldiers, and by Commodore Stockton, who was hovering off the Pacific coast with a fleet. The conquest had been made without a struggle. "We simply marched," said one of Fré-

mont's soldiers, "all over California from Sonoma to San Diego, and raised the American flag without opposition or protest. We tried to find an enemy, but we could not."

A treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico was arranged in February, 1848, at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a village near the City of Mexico. By the terms of the treaty, the disputed Texas territory, New Mexico, and California were ceded to the United States, and in return our government gave Mexico \$15,000,000, precisely the sum paid for Louisiana.

Thus during the administrations of Tyler and Polk we extended our territory to the Pacific Ocean and acquired possession of what is now Texas, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Wyoming, Montana, and Oklahoma.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. By what political party was Tyler elected? In what way did he forsake his party?
2. Tell the story of the annexation of Texas.
3. Under what circumstances did we acquire the Oregon country?
4. Give an account of the beginning of the Mexican War. Describe the military operations of Tyler; of Scott. In what way did we gain possession of New Mexico and California?
5. What were the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1803, 1812, 1820, 1825.
2. Persons: John Adams, Eli Whitney, James Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Van Buren.
3. Tell what you can about: the Tories; the Alien and Sedition Laws; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the Spoils System.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Wars since 1789; Treaties; Foreign Relations since 1789; Expansion since 1789; Claims of Different Nations at Different Times.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Sam Houston: Chandler, 208-217; Faris, 201-215.
 - (2) Zachary Taylor: Chandler, 217-225.
 - (3) Kit Carson: The Westward Movement, 163-172.
 - (4) The Mexican War: Eggleston, 282-293.
 - (5) The First American Government on the Pacific: Schafer, 157-172.
 - (6) The Oregon Boundary: Schafer, 173-186.

XXXVI

WESTWARD HO!

While statesmen and generals during the administrations of Tyler and Polk were extending our borders to the Pacific, pioneers were making new settlements in the West and building up new States. Between 1840 and 1850 the population of the country beyond the Mississippi increased more than 2,000,000, while eight communities arose out of the wilderness and were organized either as States or Territories. No wonder that the watchword of the times was Westward ho!

Cheap Lands. The remarkable development in the West in the Forties was due in part to the Preëemption Law passed by Congress in 1841. This law reduced the price of public lands from \$2 an acre (p. 204) to \$1.25 an acre, and provided that after the settler had resided on his land for six months and had made certain improvements upon it he could secure a full title to it. The Preëemption Law thus encouraged Western development by offering settlers land at an extremely low price and on very favorable terms.

Immigration and Its European Background. The growth of the West was also greatly assisted by immigration. For in the Forties the immigration that had flowed so long in a gentle stream suddenly became a flood. Before 1840 foreigners who came to America every year were counted by the tens of thousands; after that date they were counted by the hundreds of thousands. In the fifty-five years before 1845 the number of immigrants that landed on our shores was smaller than the number that came in the last five years of the Forties. In one year (1850) more than 300,000 foreigners came to our country and made it their home.

For the background of this immigration we must look to

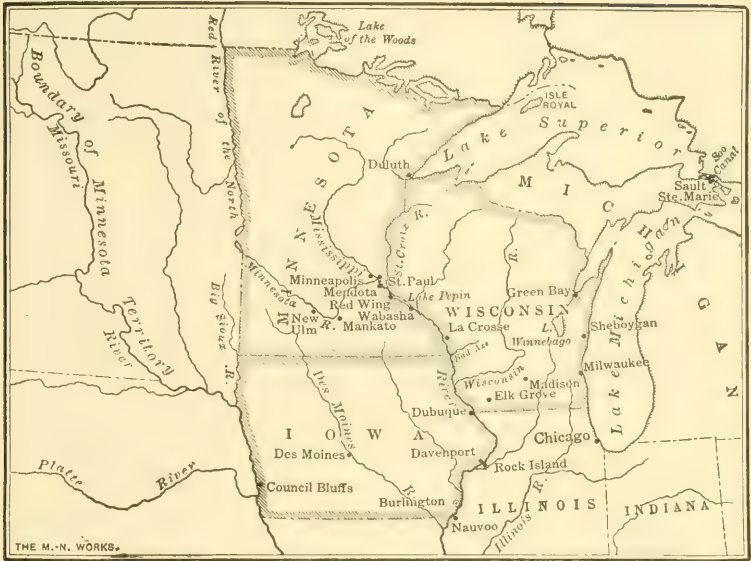
Europe. In Ireland in 1845 and also in 1846 there was an almost complete failure of the potato crop. Since the potato was the chief food of the Irish people hardships and distress followed. Hundreds of thousands died of starvation. Panic stricken at the fear of hunger great throngs sought relief in flight. In 1847 more than 100,000 Irishmen found their way to America. In Germany, too, the conditions at this time were favorable to emigration. For the German people were discontented and many of them were in a state of revolt against the tyranny of their rulers. As lovers of liberty their eyes turned to America and they poured into the New World in great streams. Thousands of them went straight to the West and helped to build up new States and Territories.

Along the Upper Mississippi and around the Great Lakes.

In no part of the West did the upbuilding of new communities between 1840 and 1850 proceed faster than along the banks of the Upper Mississippi and along the shores of the Great Lakes. In this region, within the space of a few years, there emerged from a howling wilderness two great States — Iowa and Wisconsin.

The Iowa country was the first to be opened up. In 1832 the national Government bought from the Indians about 6,000,000 acres of land lying west of the Mississippi and north of the Des Moines. As soon as the Indians were out of the way the settlement of the wild country began in earnest. In 1838 Iowa was made a Territory. The rush to Iowa was now greater than ever. Ferries were busy day and night carrying pioneers across the Mississippi, and steamboats on the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Missouri were packed with passengers for Iowa. The result was that by 1846 Iowa Territory had a population sufficient for statehood, and in that year Iowa was admitted into the Union.

While Iowa was rising on the prairies Wisconsin was rising out of the forests. You remember that after the Erie Canal was finished (p. 241) settlers in great numbers rushed to the Michigan country. Thousands of these moved on to



Along the Upper Mississippi and Around the Great Lakes

the western shore of Lake Michigan and settled in the Wisconsin country. In 1835 the first houses of Milwaukee were built, and the next year streets were laid out for a town which is now the beautiful city of Madison. In 1846 Wisconsin was created a Territory and two years later it was made a State.

Along the Pacific Coast. The tide of emigrants in the Forties flowed far beyond the shores of the Great Lakes, far beyond the banks of the Mississippi. Thousands of pioneers did not end their westward journey until the Pacific coast was reached. So the story of the Westward Movement in the Forties carries us to the Oregon country and to California.

Even before Oregon came into our possession (p. 248) streams of emigrants had begun to pour into the country. As early as 1843 the American settlers in the Willamette Valley met in a barn in Champoege and drew up for themselves a plan of government which satisfied their needs for several years. But when it was determined in 1846 that Oregon was to belong to the United States the settlers asked

Congress for a regular territorial government. To this request Congress was slow to respond, for there was trouble over the slavery question, the northern members of Congress being in favor of keeping slavery out of Oregon. After a long struggle a bill was passed (in 1848) making Oregon a Territory but declaring that slavery should not be allowed in the new Territory.

From Oregon we turn to California. Nine days before the signing of the treaty that gave California to the United States (p. 252) a man named Marshall found at Coloma, a settlement in the Sacramento valley, a piece of metal which proved to be gold, and in a few weeks it was discovered that gold was abundant throughout the whole valley. The news of Marshall's discovery spread like forest fire. By September the tidings reached the Atlantic seaboard, and by the beginning

of 1849 it was known all over the civilized world that in California there were fields of gold that could be worked by anybody who could buy a miner's outfit — a pick, a shovel, and a tin pan. So there was a wild dash for the gold-fields. Men of all ages and of all classes — clergymen, professors, doctors, lawyers, farmers, traders, thieves, gamblers — start-

~~Monday~~ th Monday 24 th this day
some kind of metal was

177
~~was found~~ ^{was found} in the tail race that
that looks like gold first discov-
ered by James W. Wicks, the Big Mill.
Sunday 30th Clean & has been
all the last week our metal
has been tried and proves to
be gold it is thought to be
rich we have pick up more than
a hundred dollars worth last
week

February. 1848
Sun 6th the weather has been clear

The First Record of the Discovery of Gold in
California

An entry in the diary of one of the laborers



The Santa Fé and Oregon Trails

ed for the far-off coast of the Pacific. They traveled on foot, on horseback, in wagons, in carts, by rail, by boat.

The gold-hunters from the seaboard States could reach California either by water or by an overland route. If they went by water they could either sail around Cape Horn, a distance of seven thousand miles, or they could cross the unhealthful Isthmus of Panama and reëmbark on the Pacific side. Those who went by the overland route made their way to Independence (near Kansas City), Missouri. This frontier town was the starting-point of a journey of more than two thousand miles across waterless plains and over steep and rocky mountains. From Independence emigrant trains could go by the Santa Fé Trail, or they could follow the Oregon Trail

to the Humboldt River, where by turning to the southwest they could make their way to the western slope of the Sierras and move down into the Sacramento valley, the Promised Land of gold.

Whether he went by the Santa Fé Trail or by the Oregon Trail, the emigrant was almost sure to meet with great suffering and hardship. On the plains water was hard to get and many perished of thirst. When crossing streams, wagons were sometimes swallowed up by quicksand. On the rough paths in the mountains, vehicles were often overturned and their occupants injured or killed. The buffalo was extremely troublesome. "One night," wrote one of the early emigrants



A Bit of Rough Road

to California, "when we were encamped on the South Fork of the Platte, the buffaloes came in such droves that we had to sit up and fire guns and make what fuss we could to keep them from running over us and trampling us into the dust."

But, in spite of danger and suffering, men hurried on to the gold-fields. By the end of 1849 about 80,000 "forty-niners" had poured into California. San Francisco in a few months was changed from a hamlet to a city. As yet Congress had given the new Territory no form of government, and for a time "law was wanting, justice was defeated, and villainy was rampant." But the Californians were now mostly Americans who loved law and order and who were going to have law and order. Without waiting for Congress to act, the leading men took matters in hand and acted for themselves. In September, 1849, they called a constitutional convention, and by the middle of October California had a constitution. The



THE UNITED STATES IN 1840



THE UNITED STATES IN 1850

constitution was submitted to Congress, and in 1850 California was admitted as a State. So California was never a Territory. The magic touch of gold had changed it almost instantly from a sleepy Mexican province into a wide-awake American State.

Utah: New Mexico. At the same time that Congress was making a law for the government of California it was called upon to provide governments for Utah and New Mexico, for it was during the Westward Movement of the Forties that the foundations of these two States were laid. The foundations of Utah were laid by the Mormons, who were organized as a religious society in 1831 by Joseph Smith. The first home of the Mormons was in western New York, but they soon moved to Kirkland, Ohio, and afterward to Independence, in Missouri. In 1838 they were driven out of Missouri, and

a new home was found at Nauvoo, in Illinois. Here they got into trouble, and in 1847 their leader, Joseph Smith, was killed. Under their new leader, Brigham Young, they set out for a new home in the far West. In a thousand covered wagons they left Illinois and, after a



Salt Lake City in 1848

long and toilsome journey across the plains, came at last to a valley in what is now the northern part of the State of Utah. Here they found a permanent resting-place. The region in which they settled had a fertile soil, but it could be made productive only by irrigation. So the Mormons dug ditches to carry the water from the mountains down into the valley, and in a few years their valley was producing all kinds of grains and fruits. They gave to each family a certain portion of land to

cultivate, and managed affairs in such a way that every one who worked had a share in the profits of the community. The Mormon settlement prospered, and in 1850 Utah Territory was organized, with Salt Lake City as its capital, and Brigham Young as its Governor.

On the same day that Utah was made a Territory a territorial government was given to New Mexico. When this province came into our possession (p. 252) its population was about 50,000. Many of the people of New Mexico, therefore, felt that their province was entitled to statehood and there was an attempt to bring New Mexico into the United States at once. But the attempt failed and New Mexico had to remain a Territory for more than sixty years.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the Preëmption Law?
2. Give an account of immigration in the Forties. What was the European background of this immigration?
3. Tell the story of the settlement of the country along the Upper Mississippi and around the Great Lakes.
4. Give an account of the settlement of Oregon after it came into our possession. Tell the story of the growth of California just after the war with Mexico.
5. Give the early history of Utah and New Mexico.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1607, 1781, 1783, 1825, 1846.
2. Persons: John Smith, James Oglethorpe, Marquette, La Salle, Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis, W. H. Harrison, Van Buren, Tyler, Polk, Taylor.
3. Tell what you can about: The Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the Spoils System.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: European Background; The Westward Movement; Means of Communication; Steps Leading to the Formation of the Union; Claims of Different Countries at Different Times.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Portland, the Rose City: Hotchkiss, 18-33.
 - (2) "The Plains Across": The Westward Movement, 103-118.

XXXVII

PROGRESS IN THE FORTIES

In the last chapter we learned how pioneers in the Forties pushed out into the western country and brought it under the control of the white man. But while these wonderful things were going on in the West, great progress was being made in all parts of the country in social and industrial matters.

The Iron Plow; the Reaper. We saw that at the beginning of the nineteenth century agriculture was still in a backward state (p. 180). But by 1840 it was moving forward at a rapid pace. Its progress was due to the improvements that were being made in the implements used by farmers. About 1825 Jethro Wood, of Scipio, New York, invented an iron plow whose parts were so fastened together that when one piece wore out or was broken it could be easily replaced by another. Iron plows now came into general use, and by 1840 the half-wooden, half-iron plow of the olden time was seldom seen.

But more wonderful than the iron plow was the reaper invented by Cyrus McCormick, of Virginia. McCormick saw that American farmers were raising more wheat than could be cut with the old-fashioned scythe, so he set to work to invent a *machine* that would cut grain. For many long years he toiled at his task; but at last he was successful, and by the year 1840 he was making reapers that farmers were glad to buy, for one of his reaping-machines would cut as much wheat as could be cut by six men with scythes.

Progress in Manufacturing: the Sewing-Machine. While agriculture in the Forties was making such great progress, manufacturing was moving forward at an equally rapid rate. We learned that by 1800 the influence of the Industrial Revolution (p. 183) was beginning to be felt in the United States and



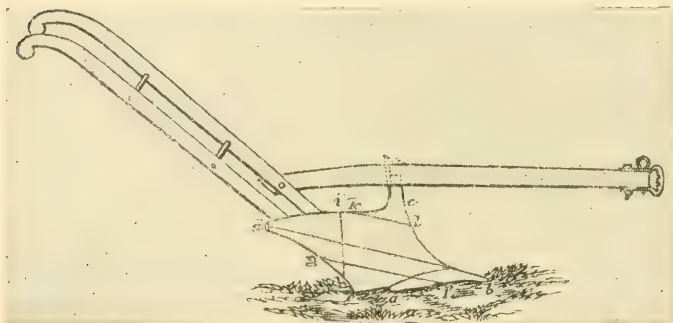
The First Plow



An Ancient Egyptian Plow



A Plow of the Middle Ages



Jethro Wood's Plow



Plowing by Steam

The Plow in All Ages

that the factory had made its appearance. Thanks to the War of 1812 and to the effects of the protective tariff, American manufactures were stimulated in a wonderful manner, with the result that factories multiplied and the little shops of earlier days gradually passed away. By 1840 the old household system of industry (p. 74) was practically gone and the factory system had taken its place. In the cities of the Eastern States there were great factories in which hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children were employed. More than half of the factory workers were women and children, and in many a factory little children under twelve years worked long hours every day for a weekly wage of \$1.50. In the factories were made vast quantities of cotton and woolen goods. The weaving-machines invented in the latter part of the eighteenth century (p. 183) had been greatly improved and were turning out more cloth than human fingers could sew with the old-time needle. So, in order to keep pace with the looms, inventors undertook to make a machine that would sew. In 1846 Elias Howe of Massachusetts came forward with such a machine; he invented a sewing-machine that would sew at the rate of 250 stitches a minute. This was about seven times as many as could be made in the same time by hand.

The Electric Telegraph. In the Forties railroads were increasing in numbers. In the management of trains the railroad men found it desirable that messages should be sent very quickly from one place to another. Professor S. F. B. Morse, of New York, gave them what they needed. As early as 1837 Morse had invented a machine which he called the telegraph, and which he claimed would send a message a hundred miles in less than the twinkling of an eye. But Morse, like most inventors, was a poor man, and he could not at once put the telegraph into operation. He had great faith, however, in the merits of his invention, and after a long and patient struggle secured the aid of Congress in establishing a telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington. The first message was sent over the line in 1844.



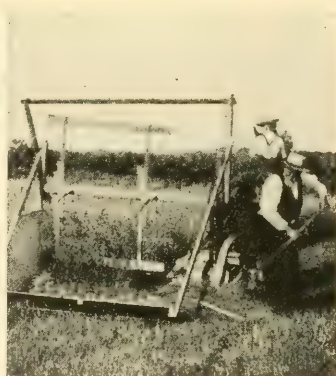
Reaping with a Sickle



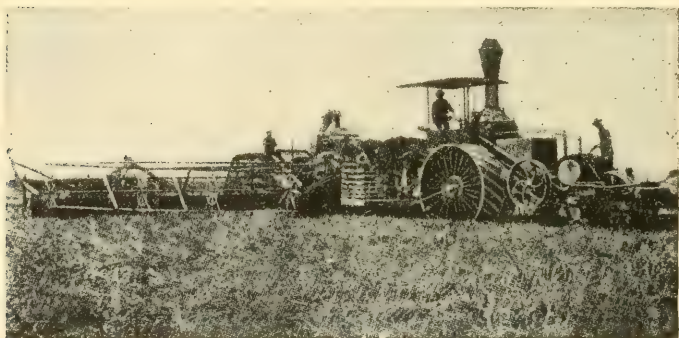
A Scythe



Reaping with a Scythe and Cradle



McCormick's First Reaper



The Combined Harvester and Thresher
The Reaper in All Ages

Progress in Education. But it was not only material progress we were making in the Forties. Men were now giving attention to higher things. Especially were they making progress in matters of education. About 1837 Horace Mann began to draw the attention of the people of New England to the importance of education. Mann loved learning with all his heart, and loved it for itself. When a boy he had so much respect and veneration for a book that he would, he said, as soon stick a pin into his own flesh as into the pages of a book. This great educational leader went up and down in Massachusetts, and in the other States of New England, urging the people to spend more money on their schools, to employ better trained teachers, and to build better school-houses. Mann's efforts were successful, and before many years had passed, there was a well organized system of free schools in every New England State.

In other sections of the country, also, free schools were being established. The common-school system of Pennsylvania was established by law in 1834, and that of New York in 1849. In the West free education flourished from the beginning. You will remember that in the Ordinance of 1787 it was provided that in the government of the Northwest Territory education was to be encouraged (p. 174). This was faithfully carried out. In the upbuilding of the West, public education was almost the first thing to receive attention. In the year 1816 the people of Indiana, in their constitution, provided that "it shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis (free) and equally open to all." Consider what these words meant for the young people of Indiana in future years. They meant that every boy and girl in the State was to have a chance to go to college. The law-makers of Indiana carried out the provisions of the constitution, and in due time the State had a complete free-school system extending from a primary school to the university. And what was

done for free education in Indiana was done practically in almost every State west of the Alleghany Mountains.

It was good Americanism that led our statesmen and teachers at this time to lay broad and deep the foundations of a public-school system. They knew that if America was to prosper and become great, and that if democracy was to live, citizens must be educated and enlightened. And it is good Americanism to-day for citizens to support and defend the public schools and to try to improve them. For they are one of our greatest blessings. Our nation could not survive without them. "We must educate," said Daniel Webster, "or we must perish."

Progress in Literature. Along with the education of the masses there was a greater demand for good reading, and to meet this demand there came to the front at least a dozen writers of whom any country might well be proud. These writers were Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Gilman Simms, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Edgar Allan Poe, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and James Russell Lowell. These authors began to write their books early in the nineteenth century, and in the Forties they were giving

A Group of American Prose-Writers

William Gilmore Simms.

Born at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1806; died there in 1870. He wrote many novels, largely on Southern life, and many of them of the colonial and Revolutionary periods.

Washington Irving.

Historian, essayist, and novelist. Author of "History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker," "The Sketch-Book," etc. Born at New York, in 1783; died at Sunnyside, near Tarrytown, New York, in 1859.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

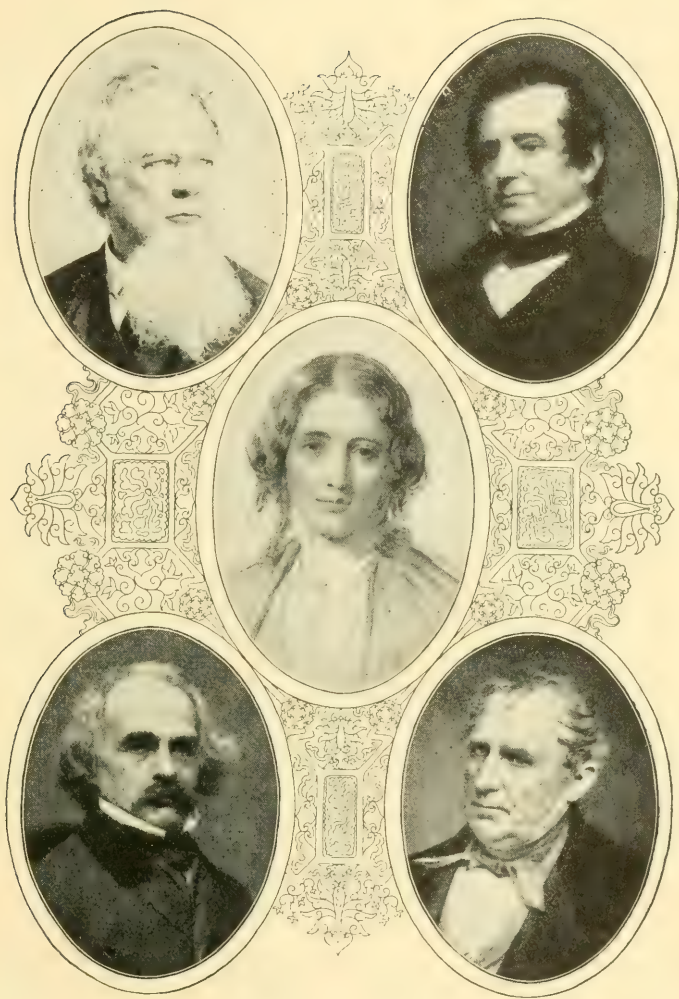
Born at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1811; died at Hartford, in 1896. Her most famous novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was first published in the *Washington National Era*, 1851-52, and in book form in 1852.

Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Author of "Twice-told Tales," "The House of the Seven Gables," "Tanglewood Tales," "The Marble Farm," etc. Born at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1804; died in New Hampshire, in 1864.

James Fenimore Cooper.

Author of many novels, most of them of Indian life or American history, including "The Spy," "The Deerslayer," etc. Born at Burlington, New Jersey, in 1789; died at Cooperstown, New York, in 1851.



delight to millions of their countrymen and bringing honor to American literature.

✓ **Social Betterment.** During the Thirties and Forties people were greatly interested in reforms, the purpose of which was to improve social conditions and make the world a better place in which to live. Many men and women were working for the cause of temperance. Kind-hearted reformers were trying to secure proper treatment for the insane and urging lawmakers to abolish imprisonment for debt. Women were asking that the right to vote be granted to them. In 1848 a woman's suffrage convention, under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was held at Seneca Falls, New York. Workingmen were forming labor unions with the view of improving the conditions of the laboring classes. These unions were a direct outgrowth of the factory system. Now that the workingmen were no longer working for themselves but for others they found that if they were to get a fair wage and good hours they must unite.

The Abolition Movement. But the reform movement that received the most attention in the Forties was the one which had for its aim the complete abolition of slavery. The great leader of the abolition movement was William Lloyd Garrison. In 1831 this remarkable man published the first number of his famous newspaper, *The Liberator*. In his paper Garrison said: "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I do not wish to

A Group of American Poets

Edgar Allan Poe.

Poet and writer of tales. Author of "The Raven," "The Gold Bug," etc. Born at Boston, in 1809; died at Baltimore, in 1849.

William Cullen Bryant.

Poet and journalist. Author of "Thanatopsis," etc. Born at Cummington, Massachusetts, in 1794; died in 1878.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

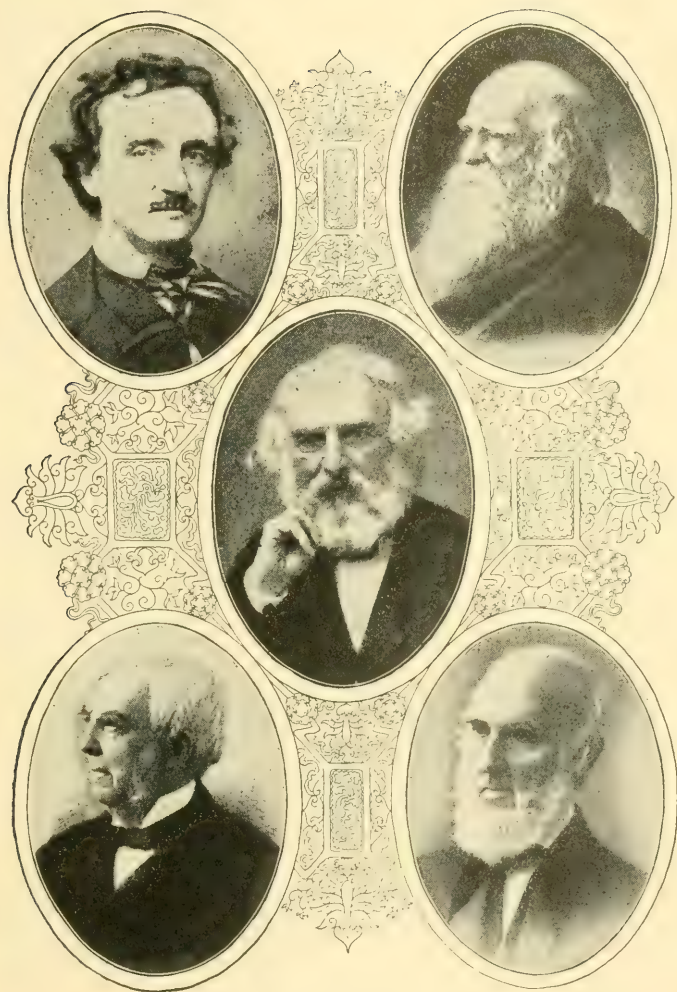
Author of "Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie," "The Song of Hiawatha," etc. Born in Maine, in 1807; died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1882.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Poet, essayist, and novelist. Author of "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table," "The One-Hoss Shay," etc. Born in Massachusetts, in 1809; died in 1894.

John Greenleaf Whittier.

Author of "Snow-Bound," "Poems of Nature," etc. Born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, in 1807; member of the Society of Friends; died in 1892.



think, or speak, or write with moderation. I am in earnest. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

And truly Garrison was heard. His newspaper had a wide circulation, and it gave great strength to the abolition movement. For a long time the abolitionists stood for a despised cause. Even in the North the leading men were against them. Sometimes they could not get a hall in which to hold their meetings and were obliged to meet secretly in stable-lofts. Frequently their meetings were broken up. Garrison himself was mobbed and dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his body. Still the abolition movement grew rapidly. In 1835 there were in the North 200 abolition societies; in 1840 there were 2,000 of these societies.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the iron plow and the reaper.
2. What progress was made in the Forties in manufacturing? Tell of the invention of the sewing-machine.
3. Tell the story of the electric telegraph.
4. What progress was being made in education in the Forties?
5. Name the great writers of this period.
6. What efforts were being made at this time to improve the condition of the people?
7. Give an account of the abolition movement.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1787 (2) 1812, 1825, 1846.
2. Persons: Champlain, Hudson, Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Webster.
3. Tell what you can about: The Patroons; the Northwest Territory; the Louisiana Purchase.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Americanism; Great Inventions; European Background; Progress in Education; Slavery; Wars Since 1789; Foreign Relations since 1789; Agriculture; Manufacturing.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Story of the Reaper: Forman, 85-96.
 - (2) The Story of the Plow: Forman, 73-84.
 - (3) The Story of the Telegraph: Forman, 252-263.
 - (4) Horace Mann: Brooks, 320-335.
 - (5) S. F. B. Morse: Brooks, 305-320; Faris, 185-200.
 - (6) The Story of the Needle: Forman, 125-137.
 - (7) Cyrus McCormick: Faris, 254-265.

XXXVIII

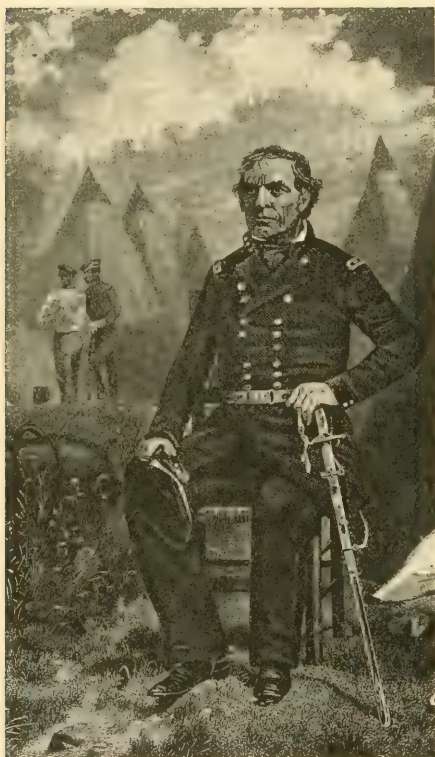
FACE TO FACE WITH THE SLAVERY QUESTION

We have just learned that in the Forties the abolitionists were carrying on a bitter warfare against slavery, and that the movement for abolition was gaining strength. In 1850 the people of the country were brought face to face with the slavery question, and for many years thereafter this great question held the chief place in their hearts and minds. We ought, therefore, at this point to study the institution of slavery as it existed in the United States about 1850, and to learn of the effort that was made to solve the slavery problem at that time.

Election of 1848; Taylor and Fillmore. In 1848 it was plainly foreseen that the slavery question must soon arise; yet in the Presidential campaign of that year neither of the great parties said a word about the subject. The Whigs said nothing about anything; they made no platform. They nominated General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana for President and Millard Fillmore of New York for Vice-President. The Democrats made a long platform, but it was silent on the subject of slavery. They nominated for President Lewis Cass of Michigan. The Free-Soil party, made up of those Whigs and Democrats who were opposed to slavery, held a convention at Buffalo and nominated ex-President Van Buren for the Presidency. The Free-Soilers in their platform came out against slavery in the strongest terms. Congress, they said, has no more right to make a slave than it has to make a king; there must be a free soil for a free people; there must be no more slave States and no more slave Territories. Taylor was not a great statesman, but in the Mexican War he had shown himself to be a good fighting man, and for that reason he was a favorite with the people. The Whigs won the election, and Taylor was inaugurated as President in March,

1849. On July 4, 1850, he suddenly fell ill, and in a few days died. He was succeeded by Vice-President Fillmore.

Slavery in the United States in 1850.



Zachary Taylor

Born in Virginia, in 1784; served in the War of 1812, and in the wars against the Black Hawks and the Seminoles; commanded in northern Mexico during the Mexican War; became twelfth President in 1849; died at Washington, in 1850.

of Taylor's administration the great question before the country was slavery. In order to understand this question as it presented itself to the statesmen of the time, it will be necessary to learn the leading facts about slavery as it existed in the United States in 1850.

Before the admission of California (1850) there were fifteen free States and fifteen slave States. The slave States were Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The population of the free States was about 13,000,000; that of the

slave States was about 9,000,000. The number of slaves was a little more than 3,000,000. The number of slaveholders was a little less than 350,000. In the slave States about one person in twenty was a slaveholder. But the majority of slaveholders owned only a few slaves each — one or two or three or four. These small slaveholders lived for the most part in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In these

States slavery was largely a household arrangement. The slave of the small slaveholder worked in the house, in the garden, and on the small farm. Sometimes he worked in the field by the side of his master. His service was largely personal, and there was a real human bond between him and his master. But there were 8000 slaveholders in the South who owned fifty or more slaves each. On many of the largest plantations there were several hundred slaves. President Taylor himself had more than a thousand slaves on his plantation in Louisiana. The large slaveholders lived for the most part in the cotton States. On the large cotton plantations slavery was often simply a business arrangement. The slave was placed by his master under the charge of an overseer, whose duty was to get as much work out of the slave as possible in order that the plantation might yield as great a profit as possible.

Under what conditions did the slave live? How were they treated by their masters? As a rule, slaves were properly fed, clothed, and sheltered. It was to the interest of their masters that they should be. In 1850 a good slave was worth from \$1000 to \$1500, and a prudent master would no more starve or unduly expose a slave than he would starve or unduly expose an extremely valuable horse. Even on the great cotton plantations, where the life of the slave was the hardest, the negroes usually were provided with fairly comfortable homes.

The treatment received by a slave depended upon the kind of man his master was. The kind-hearted master treated his slaves as human beings ought to be treated. Yet there were a few hard-hearted masters who treated their slaves in a very cruel and brutal manner. But almost everywhere in the South public sentiment was against the brutal treatment of slaves, and the cruel master was looked down upon and shunned by his neighbors.

In matters of education the slave fared badly. As a rule, he was kept in the darkest ignorance. In most of the slave States it was unlawful for anybody to teach a negro to read or

write. In several States, however, it was lawful for masters themselves to instruct their slaves, and kind masters sometimes would teach their negroes the rudiments of reading and writing. In matters of religion the slaves were not neglected. They were given oral instruction in the Bible, had their negro preachers, and joined heartily in religious exercises.

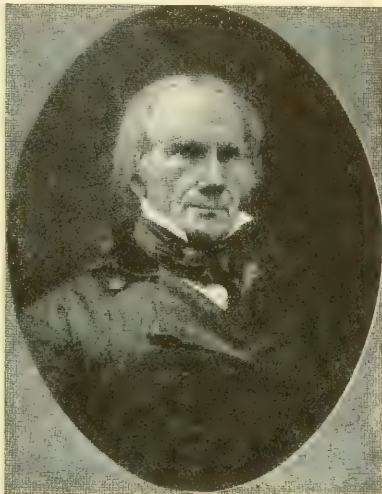
In the early days of the Republic many people of the South thought that slavery was wrong. Washington, Jefferson, and Madison were all slaveholders, yet they were all opposed to slavery. By 1850, however, most of the white people of the South had come to believe that slavery was a good thing. They believed that the teachings of the Bible upheld slavery; they contended that it was better for the negro to be a civilized slave on a cotton plantation than to be a savage in the jungles of Africa; they said that the black slave at the South, who had all his wants supplied by his master, was happier and more contented than the white mill-hand of the North, who was dependent upon his wages for his daily bread and who sometimes lacked the necessities of life.



Negro Quarters on a Plantation

Slavery and the Abolitionists. In the North by 1850 many thousands of thoughtful people regarded slavery as a great evil. This feeling against slavery had been aroused by the abolitionists, who, as we have learned (p. 268), wished to get rid of slavery, root and branch, cost what it might, suffer who might.

Abolitionists did two things that were very displeasing to the South. They sent into the South, through the mails, newspapers, pamphlets, and books intended to stir up a feeling against slavery and that were likely to cause the slaves to revolt against their masters. Then, the abolitionists assisted in the escape of fugitive slaves. Slaves, in the hope of gaining their freedom, would often slip away from their masters and make their way North, hiding in the woods in the daytime and following the north star at night. When the fugitive reached Pennsylvania or Ohio he was often met by officers of the "underground railroad," which was not a railroad at all, but



Henry Clay

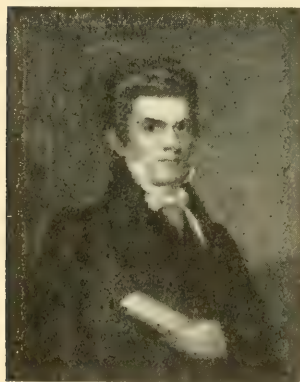
Born in Virginia, in 1777; member of Senate; Speaker of the House of Representatives; Secretary of State; chief designer of Compromise of 1850; died in 1852.

a secret organization composed mainly of abolitionists, whose purpose it was to aid runaway slaves to reach Canada, where everybody was free. If a master could find his runaway slave anywhere in the United States, he could by law seize the fugitive and take him back home, but if the runaway could get his foot on Canadian soil he was safe.

When taken in charge by the underground railroad the fugitives were passed along in a secret manner from place to place. "Forty-seven slaves," said one of the conductors of the underground railroad, "I guided toward the north star. I

piloted them through the frosty North mostly by night; men dressed in women's clothes, and women dressed in men's clothes; on foot and on horseback, in carriages, under loads of hay." In one instance a runaway was nailed up in a box and shipped as freight. Through the assistance of this underground railroad the slaveholders of the South were, by 1850, losing hundreds of their slaves and millions of dollars every year.

Compromise of 1850. At the beginning of Taylor's administration, then, the South and the North were already considerably excited over the subject of slavery. When Congress met in 1849, the question of admitting California (p. 000) came up, and at once gave rise to a bitter quarrel between the two sections. The quarrel had really begun several years before. In 1846, when a bill was on its passage through Congress giving money to Polk to aid him in acquiring New Mexico



John C. Calhoun

Born in South Carolina, in 1782; graduated at Yale; member of Congress; Secretary of War; Vice-President, 1825-32; member of the Senate; Secretary of State; author of the "doctrine of nullification"; died in 1850.

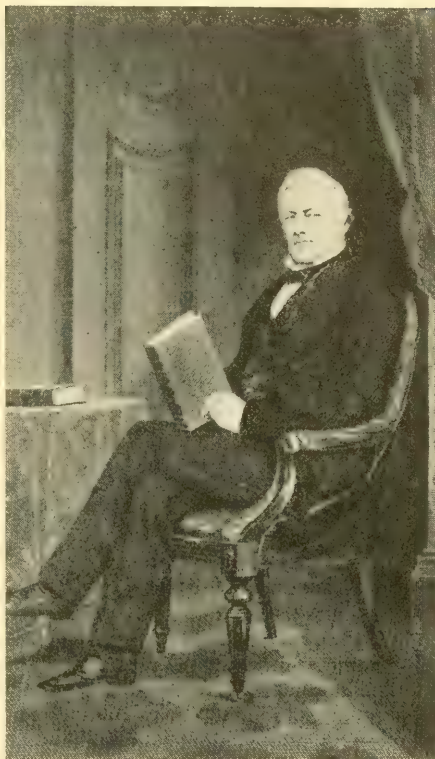
and California, David Wilmot, a member of the House, offered an amendment to the bill providing that slavery should be forever prohibited in the territory that might be acquired from Mexico. This amendment, known as the *Wilmot Proviso*, caused more trouble, perhaps, than any other measure ever proposed by an American statesman, for it awakened the question that since the days of the Missouri Compromise (p. 219) had been allowed to slumber — the question of the extension of slavery. The proviso was defeated in 1846, but it came up before Congress again and again.

It came up in 1849, when California applied for admission, and there came up with it several other important questions connected with slavery. Should California come in as a

free State or as a slave State? If it should come in as a free State there would be sixteen free States and fifteen slave States, the balance of power between North and South would be destroyed, and the North would have its own way about slavery. Should slavery be allowed in the Territories of New Mexico and Utah? The South asked that these Territories be thrown open to slavery. Should slavery be prohibited in the District of Columbia? The North desired that it should be; the South desired that it should not be. Should Congress enact a fugitive-slave law that would enable a master to retake his

runaway slave in spite of the abolitionists and the underground railroad? The South asked for such a law.

These were important questions before Congress in 1849 and 1850. They gave rise to a great debate in which Clay, Calhoun, and Webster were the leaders. Clay, as was to be expected, treated the questions in a spirit of compromise. "Let me say," he said, "to the North and to the South what husband and wife say to each other: we have mutual faults; neither of us is perfect; nothing in the form of humanity is



Millard Fillmore

Born at Sumner Hill, New York, in 1800; studied law; member of Congress; elected Vice-President, 1848; succeeded as thirteenth President (1850-53) upon the death of President Taylor; unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency in 1856; died in 1874.

perfect. Let us then be kind to each other, forbearing, forgiving each other's faults, and, above all, let us live in happiness and peace together." In this spirit of good will and friendliness Clay asked Congress to adopt a plan of settlement that would satisfy both North and South. His plan was:

(1) To admit California as a free State.

(2) To give New Mexico and Utah Territorial government, without making provision one way or the other as to slavery.

(3) To prohibit the *slave trade* in the District of Columbia, but not slavery.

(4) To enact a fugitive-slave law strict enough to enable a master to capture a runaway slave.

Calhoun, the leader of the South, was present in the Senate during the debate, wrapped in flannels and battling with death. He was too weak to deliver his speech, but it was read for him by a fellow Senator. He was opposed to Clay's plan. He did not believe that under the Constitution Congress had any right to keep slavery out of California or any other Territory belonging to the United States, and he would not have the South give up any right that was hers under the Constitution.

Webster, in one of the greatest speeches of his life, supported Clay's plan. He believed that the Union was in danger, and he thought that it could be saved only by a compromise. "I wish to speak to-day," he said, "not as a Massachusetts man, not as a Northern man, but as an American. I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union." Other leaders rallied to the support of Clay's plan, and (in October, 1850) it was passed by Congress in the form of a series of laws known as the Compromise of 1850. It was sometimes called the Omnibus Bill because it included so many subjects.

The Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850. Everybody now hoped that the slavery question was settled and that the North and the South would again move along in peace and harmony. But it soon became plain that there was more trouble ahead. The new Fugitive-Slave Law was very severe. It gave the officers of the United States government the power to turn over

any negro who was claimed as an escaped slave to the person claiming him, and did not allow the negro to give testimony in his own behalf. The law also made it the duty of citizens to assist in the capture of runaway slaves. The law was very offensive to the people of the North, and in many places it was fiercely resisted.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1848.
2. What was the number of slaves in 1850? Of slaveholders? How did household slavery differ from plantation slavery? How were the slaves treated by their masters? How did the slave fare in respect to education? In respect to religion? What were the views of the Southern people in regard to slavery? In what two ways did the abolitionists displease the South?
3. What was the Wilmot Proviso? What great questions came up before Congress in 1850? What was Clay's plan of compromise? Give an account of the debate in Congress on Clay's plan.
4. What were the provisions of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1850?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1620, 1763, 1781, 1825.
2. Persons: John Winthrop, Washington, Franklin, Braddock, Wolfe, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Garrison.
3. Tell what you can about: the Line of Demarcation; the Pilgrims; the Puritans; the Convention of 1787; the Ordinance of 1787; the Whisky Insurrection; the Declaration of Independence.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Slavery; The Presidents: their Elections and Inaugurations; The French in North America.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Garrison on Slavery: McLaughlin, 200-206.
 - (2) Calhoun on Slavery: McLaughlin, 207-212.
 - (3) Slave Life in the Fifties: McLaughlin, 217-228.
 - (4) The Early Life of Daniel Webster: *A New Nation*, 138-147.
 - (5) My Escape from Slavery: *A New Nation*, 181-185.
 - (6) Women in the Slavery Struggle: Bruce, 156-187.

XXXIX

SHALL SLAVE TERRITORY BE EXTENDED?

It was hoped that the Compromise of 1850 would settle the slavery question. But it did not. Some of our statesmen still wished the area of slave territory to be extended, while enemies of slavery bitterly opposed such extension. The question of slavery extension gave rise to a long and hard-fought political battle, an account of which will now be given.

Election of 1852. In the Presidential campaign¹ of 1852 both the Whigs and the Democrats declared in their platforms that they stood by the Compromise of 1850. The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott, hoping that his war record (p. 250) would carry them into power. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and swept the country, carrying every State but four. When Pierce took his seat in March, 1853, he was forty-eight years old and was the youngest man that had as yet sat in the Presidential chair. He was brave, handsome, and well educated, and he had the best wishes of his countrymen in all sections of the Union.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. For a time after the election of Pierce it seemed that the slavery question really had been settled. The spirit of compromise, which in Congress had brought forth the Omnibus Bill, became in large measure the spirit of men everywhere. The people of the North ceased to resist the Fugitive-Slave Law; the underground railroad

¹ During this campaign Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared in book form. This was a powerfully written story describing slave life. It was a book of fiction, to be sure, but it was received at the North as if it had been a book of facts. It sold by the hundreds of thousands, and it did much to stir up feelings over the slave question and to widen the gulf between the North and the South.

carried very few passengers; politics and slavery were almost forgotten, and a second "era of good feeling" (p. 219) seemed at hand.

But the question of slavery could not be kept down. In 1854 Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois brought into the Senate a bill to organize the Nebraskan Territory — a region that comprised what are now the States of Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.

All this country was north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and by the terms of the Missouri Compromise (p. 220) was closed against slavery. But Douglas proposed to throw it open to slavery and thus do away with the Missouri Compromise. His bill — known as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill — in its final form provided for two Territories, Kansas and Nebraska. The question of slavery in the new Territories was to be settled by what Douglas called popular or "squatter" sovereignty: the people of each Territory were to vote on the question of slavery; if the major-



Franklin Pierce

Born in New Hampshire, in 1804; member of Congress, 1833-37; United States Senator, 1837-42; general in the Mexican War; fourteenth President, 1853-57; died in 1869.

ity of votes were cast in favor of slavery, it was to be a slave Territory, but if the majority of votes were cast against slavery, then it was to be a free Territory. "If they wish

slavery," said Douglas, "they have a right to it." The bill was violently opposed in Congress; but Douglas was a powerful leader and, next to Henry Clay, was the most popular man that had yet appeared in American politics. He pushed his bill with whip and spur, and in May, 1854, it was passed by Congress and signed by the President. So the Kansas-Nebraska Bill repealed the Missouri Compromise and threw these Territories open to slavery.

All the good done by the Compromise of 1850 was undone by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The North felt that in repealing the Missouri Compromise the South had violated a solemn pledge, and the resentment against the bill in the North was very bitter. But the South was as much delighted by the measure as the North was embittered by it. For under the Kansas-Nebraska Bill it was possible to carry slavery into the vast Northwest. So the effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was to stir men deeply both at the North and at the South on the subject of slavery. After 1854 every man in the land had to answer this question: Are you for slavery or are you against slavery?

The Struggle in Kansas. The first blows in the slavery



Scene of the Struggle in Kansas

conflict were struck in Kansas. By the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill the question of slavery in Kansas was to be

determined by the votes of the people. The election that was held to determine this question gave rise to a contest which split Kansas into two warring factions, the free-State men and the slave-State men. In 1855 the free-State men drew up at Topeka a constitution that prohibited slavery; but the slave-State men would have nothing whatever to do with the Topeka constitution.

The quarrel between the two factions soon resulted in violence and outrage. In May, 1856, the town of Lawrence was sacked by a mob of slave-State men. In revenge, John Brown, with four sons and three other men, went along Pottawatomie Creek at midnight and killed five slave-State men.

In 1857 the slave-State men drew up at Lecompton a constitution that allowed slavery; but when the constitution was submitted to the voters it was rejected by them. By this time the free-State people were in the majority, and their majority was rapidly increasing. In 1859 a constitutional convention met at Wyandotte and drew up a constitution forbidding slavery; and when this was submitted to the people it was ratified by a vote of two to one. So, after a long and bloody struggle, it was at last settled that slavery should not be allowed in Kansas.

Election of 1856; the Rise of the Republican Party.

While men were discussing the troubles in Kansas they were also preparing for a Presidential election. The Whig party had perished in 1852 with the defeat of Scott. By 1856 a new party was coming to the front. In 1854, just after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, several thousand citizens of Michigan met in an oak-grove on the outskirts of the town of Jackson and resolved to act together in opposition to slavery. They also resolved to be known as Republicans until the fight with slavery should be brought to an end. They recommended that a national convention of the free States be called, and nominated candidates for the State offices. This open-air meeting under the oaks at Jackson was the beginning of the great organization known to-day as the Republican party.

The Republicans met with success in several States in 1854

and 1855, and by 1856 they had a strong organization. In that year they held a national convention at Philadelphia and adopted a platform declaring against the spread of slavery in the Territories and for the admission of Kansas as a free State. They nominated for President John C. Frémont (p. 251 of California. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and elected him.

The Dred Scott Decision. Buchanan was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857. Two days later the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced its decision in the Dred Scott case. Scott was a slave who had been taken by his master first to Illinois, where slavery was prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787; then to Minnesota Territory, where slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise; and then to Missouri, a slave State. After several years' residence in Missouri, Scott brought suit in court for his freedom, on the ground that his residence in free Illinois and free Minnesota had made him a free man. His case was tried by several courts, and finally the Supreme Court of the United States decided that, since Scott was a negro whose ancestors were slaves, he was not a citizen of Missouri, and that because he was not a citizen he had no right to bring a case into court. The court also declared that the Missouri Compromise was contrary to the Constitution and that Congress had no right to prevent the spread of slavery into the Territories. So Scott failed to get his freedom, and slave holders were assured that if they wished to carry their slaves into the Territories Congress could not prevent them.

The decision made the people of the North very angry, for it cut the very ground from under the feet of those who were fighting against the extension of slavery. In the South, on the other hand, the people rejoiced when they heard that the highest court in the land was on their side and on the side of slavery.

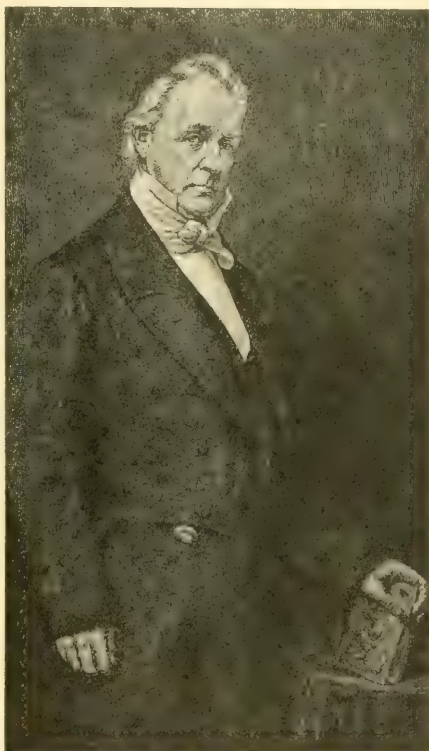
The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. The excitement aroused by the Dred Scott decision in 1857 was intensified in the following year by the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Stephen A. Douglas in

1858 was a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate, and Abraham Lincoln was his opponent. In the campaign for the Senatorship Lincoln and Douglas spoke in joint debate from the same platform, Lincoln taking the side against the further extension of slavery, and Douglas defending his doctrine of "popular sovereignty." The debates attracted the attention of the entire country, and the meetings were attended by thousands. Douglas won the Senatorship, but in the debates Lincoln showed himself to be a man of such great power that the people of the North began to look to him as the natural leader of the forces that were opposed to slavery.

John Brown's Raid.

After the Dred Scott decision the quarrel between the North and the South over slavery was bitter enough; but it was soon made more bitter by

an event that is known as John Brown's Raid. In 1859 John Brown, the same man whom we saw engaged in the Kansas struggle, rented a farm-house about six miles north of Harper's Ferry, in Virginia. Here he planned to march into Virginia with a few followers and stir up the negroes and cause them to rebel against their masters and thus gain their freedom. On



James Buchanan

Born in Pennsylvania, in 1791; member of Congress; minister to Russia; United States Senator; Secretary of State; minister to Great Britain; fifteenth President, 1857-61; died in 1868.

the night of October 17, 1859, Brown left the farm-house with about twenty companions, went to Harper's Ferry, and seized the arsenal there and took possession of the village. After Brown had held the village for a few hours, he and his band were surrounded by a small force of soldiers under Colonel Robert E. Lee and were captured and taken to the county jail. He was tried for treason and murder, and convicted, and on December 2 was hanged.

Election of 1860. The discord and disunion produced by the slavery agitation showed themselves plainly in the Presidential election of 1860, when there were four candidates in



“The Wigwam,” the Building in which
Lincoln Was Nominated at Chicago

the field. The Democratic party in that year found itself split in two. The Democrats of the South, not being able to agree with Northern Democrats on the slavery question, nominated a ticket of their own and

made their own platform. Their candidate for President was John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky. Their platform declared (1) that Congress had no right to abolish slavery in the Territories, and (2) that a Territorial legislature had no right to abolish slavery in a Territory. The Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas and declared for “popular sovereignty” (p. 281) in the matter of slavery. At Chicago the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois on a platform that (1) demanded the admission of Kansas as a free State and (2) denied the authority of Congress, or a Territorial legislature, to allow slavery in any Territory. A fourth party, known as the Constitutional Union party, nominated John Bell of Tennessee, and declared for “the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws.”

In the election that took place in November Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12. Of the popular votes Lincoln had 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, 850,052; Bell, 646,124.

Thus the great Democratic party went down in defeat. With the exception of two periods of four years each, it had governed the country for sixty years. And what was the significance of this election? What did this victory of the Republicans in 1860 mean? It meant that the people had placed in power a party that was opposed to the extension of slavery; it meant that the enemies of slavery had gained control of the national government.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1852.
2. What were the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? What effect did this law have upon the slavery question?
3. Give an account of the struggle in Kansas between the free-State men and the slave-State men.
4. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1856 and of the rise of the Republican party.
5. What was the Dred Scott decision? What was the effect of this decision?
6. Give an account of the Lincoln-Douglas debates.
7. Give an account of John Brown's Raid.
8. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1860. What significance did the result of this election have?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1643, 1776, 1789, 1850.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Roger Williams, Daniel Boone, Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Garrison, Fillmore.
3. Tell what you can about: Life in the Backwoods; the Era of Good Feeling; the Treason of Arnold.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Slavery; Political Parties; The Presidents: their Elections and Inaugurations; Agriculture.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Early Life of Lincoln: A New Nation, 166-180.
 - (2) The Lincoln-Douglas Debates: A New Nation, 186-198.
 - (3) The Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin: A New Nation, 203-209.

XL

OUR COUNTRY IN 1860

Since the election of Lincoln was a turning-point in our national history, it will be well here to take a survey of our nation as it existed about the year 1860, and learn what kind of place it was at that time and what progress we were making.

Railroad-Building: the "Pony Express." One of the most striking features of American progress between 1850 and 1860 was railroad-building. The first railroads (p. 239) in most cases were short lines built as feeders to lakes and rivers and canals. But in the Fifties great trunk lines began to be carried from the seaboard westward across the continent clear to the Mississippi River. By 1850 the New York Central Railroad had grown from a little line connecting Albany and Schenectady to a trunk line upon which one could travel from New York City to Buffalo. By 1852 a trunk line was running from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh; by 1855 swift iron horses were running over a smooth iron road that extended from New York to St. Louis. During the Fifties, also, railroad-building in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan was carried forward at such an astonishing rate that by 1860 the Middle West had become a network of railways.

But by 1860 few railroads ran beyond the Mississippi. The journey across the plains to far-off Utah, Oregon, and California was still made in heavy stage-coaches or wagons, which moved along the old trails (p. 257) so slowly that it required three or four months to reach the coast. The mails from points on the Mississippi River to the Pacific were carried on horseback. Important mail was hurried along by means of a "pony express." This was a line of fleet horsemen who rode in relays. The mail-carrier would mount a spirited pony at

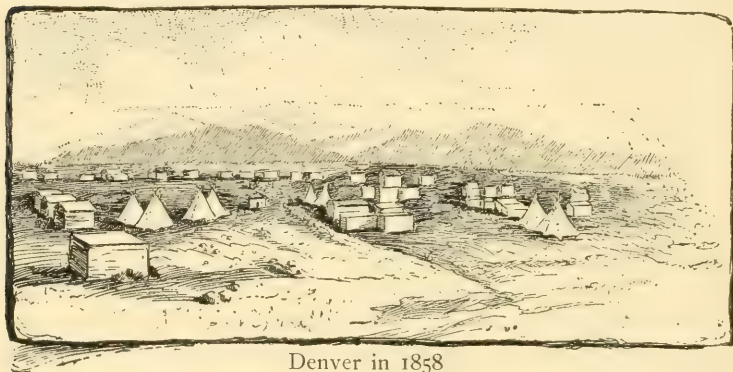
St. Joseph, in Missouri, and gallop at breakneck speed about twenty miles to the first relay station, where there was a pony all saddled and ready. The carrier mounted this fresh pony and dashed away to the next station, where there was another fresh pony. At this third station another carrier took the mail. Day and night, in sunshine and storm, across prairies and mountains, the swift rider pursued his journey. By means of the "pony express" the mail was sometimes carried 2,000 miles in ten days.

The Westward Movement in the Fifties. The building up of the West went on even more rapidly in the Fifties than it did in the Forties (p. 253). This was because the trunk lines made it easier for home-seekers to reach the country across the Mississippi. The growth of Minnesota in the Fifties was the most wonderful event in the entire history of Western settlement. Minnesota was organized as a Territory in 1849. The population of the Territory at this time was less than 5,000. "There was a trading-post at Wabasha, a stone house at the foot of Lake Pepin, a mission house at Red Wing and at Kaposia, and a trading-post at Mendota, but that was all." But soon there was a rush of emigrants to "No Man's Land" as Minnesota for a time was called. In 1853 more than 28,000,000 acres of land, which had belonged to the Sioux Indians, was thrown open to the whites. The next year Chicago and Rock Island, on the Mississippi, were joined by a railroad; and in 1856 the Sault Ste. Marie Canal was opened. Minnesota was now easy to reach, and emigrants swarmed over her vacant land like bees. The Territory was settled rapidly, and in 1857 the population was thirty times as great as it had been eight years before. So, when its people asked to be admitted into the Union in 1858, their wish was granted. In 1861 the great wilderness lying west of this new State and extending to the Rocky Mountains was organized as the Territory of Dakota.

While Minnesota was filling up with settlers, pioneers were also moving out into Kansas and Nebraska. During the years of the slavery contest in Kansas (p. 282) emigrants from both

the North and the South poured into the Territory, and by 1860 its population was more than 100,000. Kansas was now ready for statehood and in 1861 it was admitted into the Union. By this time Nebraska Territory had a population of more than 30,000, and its people felt that Nebraska also ought to be admitted. But it had to wait for some years.

It was in the Fifties, also, that the first settlements in Colorado were made. The early development of Colorado, like



Denver in 1858

the development of most of the Rocky Mountain States, was due to the discovery of valuable mines of precious metals. In 1859 a rich gold-mine was discovered in the Pike's Peak country, and forthwith there was a wild rush to the scene. "Pike's Peak or bust" became the motto of fortune-seekers in all parts of the country. It was estimated that within a year nearly 60,000 gold-seekers visited the newly discovered mines. Thousands of these "fifty-niners," remained and laid the foundations of Colorado. Mining towns such as Denver, Boulder, and Pueblo were built so rapidly that they seemed to rise out of the ground overnight. The miners felt the need of law and order, and at once organized a new government under the name of the Territory of Jefferson. In 1861, however, Congress organized the Territory of Colorado, and the Territory of Jefferson passed out of existence. Three days after Colorado was provided with a government, Nevada was made

a Territory. The development of Nevada was due almost wholly to the discovery of the great Comstock silver-mine.

The force of the westward movement in the Fifties was felt clear across the continent. California by 1860 had grown to be a great State with a population of nearly 400,000. Oregon in the Fifties also grew rapidly. In 1853 a part of Oregon was set off and organized as Washington Territory, and six years later Oregon was admitted to the Union.

Thus between 1850 and 1861 Minnesota, Oregon, and Kansas were admitted as States, and Washington, Nebraska, Dakota, Nevada, and Colorado were organized as Territories.¹

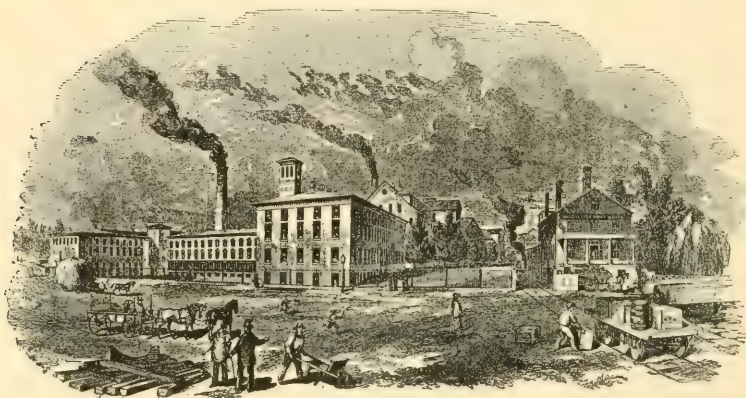
Commerce and Industry. While these new States and Territories were rising in the West, the commerce and industry of the East were flourishing as never before. The building of the railroad trunk lines was like causing navigable rivers to flow from the West to the Atlantic seaboard. On the railroads the products of the Western farmer could be borne to Eastern ports and from these ports could be shipped to Europe. As a result our yearly shipments of goods to foreign markets were more than doubled in the Fifties. Our foreign trade in 1860 was about one half exports and one half imports; we were thus buying from abroad about as much as we were selling. As a commercial nation, therefore, we were standing on our feet.

Agriculture was still our chief pursuit, as it had always been. Great quantities of wheat and corn were raised, but cotton was the most important product of the farm. In 1860 the United States raised seven eighths of all the cotton in the world. No wonder that the South believed that cotton was king!

But, while agriculture was still in the lead, manufacturing was not far behind. For the factory system (p. 263) was

¹ It was in the Fifties that the *Gadsden Purchase* was made. This consisted of a tract of 36,000 square miles of land now included in the southern part of Arizona and New Mexico. It was purchased in 1853 from Mexico for the sum of \$10,000,000. James Gadsden acting as the agent of the United States in making the purchase.

now in full swing, and the articles of manufacture were increasing in number and variety. The iron industry and the coal industry were going forward at a marvelous rate, while, thanks to the Howe sewing-machine, ready-made clothing had by this time come into being and was furnishing clothes at unusually low prices. In truth, manufacturing by 1860 had



A Factory Town (Manchester, N. H.) in the Fifties

practically overtaken agriculture; for in that year the products of our farms were worth about \$2,000,000,000, while the products of our factories were worth nearly the same sum.

Growth of Cities. With the progress of manufactures the cities of the country grew in size and number. This was to be expected, for manufactures on a large scale can be carried on only in cities. In 1850 the only places that had more than 100,000 inhabitants were New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. In 1860 Boston, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago had passed the 100,000 mark. In the Fifties great cities began to rise in the West, for manufactures by this time were moving westward.

The growth of St. Louis and Chicago at this time was amazing. In 1840 St. Louis was a town of 16,000; in 1850 its population was 75,000; in 1860 it contained 160,000 inhabitants and had practically overtaken Cincinnati, long known

as the "Queen City of the West." For many years the growth of Chicago was slow. As late as 1838 wolves could be heard at night howling in the woods around the town. But about 1840 Chicago began to ship wheat in large quantities to the East, and then the town began to grow. In 1847 McCormick built a factory in Chicago and began to make reapers by the thousands and tens of thousands. This greatly hastened the growth of the place. In the Fifties the city was connected by

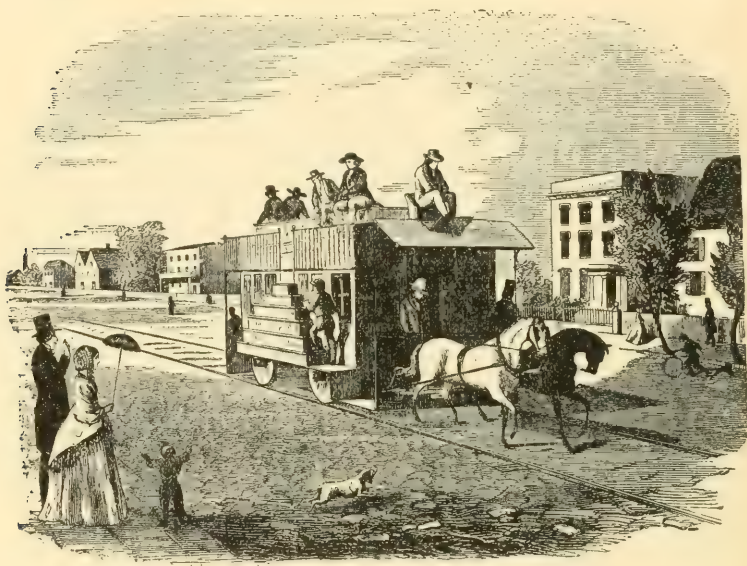


Columbus, Ohio, in 1853

railroads with places on the Atlantic seaboard and with points on the Mississippi River. Chicago now grew more rapidly than ever, and it was not many years before it held first rank among the cities west of the Alleghanies.

Many other places were well started on the road to permanent and prosperous cityhood. In New England there were Providence, Worcester, Lowell, Cambridge, Hartford, and New Haven. In the Middle States there were Newark, Jersey City, Wilmington, Reading, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Troy, Rochester, Albany, and Syracuse; in the West there were Milwaukee, Cleveland, Detroit, Dayton, Louisville, and San Francisco. Each of these had a population of more than

20,000, while five — Providence, Newark, Buffalo, Louisville, and San Francisco — had populations of over 50,000 each. Thus by 1860 the factory system was changing the face of American civilization, for in nearly every instance the growth of these cities was due chiefly to a growth in manufacturing industries.



A Street Car in 1860

Every-Day Life in 1860. By 1860 the people of the United States were living in a different kind of world from that in which the people of 1800 lived. The age of steam had fully arrived, and people were accustomed to steamboats and steam-cars and all kinds of steam-driven machinery. In the cities the streets were paved and were lighted by gas. In the largest places there were street-cars drawn by horses. The telegraph was coming into general use.¹ The old common printing press was being cast aside, and the revolving press of Hoe was print-

¹ In 1861 a telegraph line extended clear across the continent, connecting New York and San Francisco. Five years later the Old World and the New had been joined by cable, thanks chiefly to the perseverance and energy of Cyrus W. Field of New York.

ing newspapers so rapidly and so cheaply that the daily paper could be enjoyed by all. Express companies had been organized and were doing a thriving business.

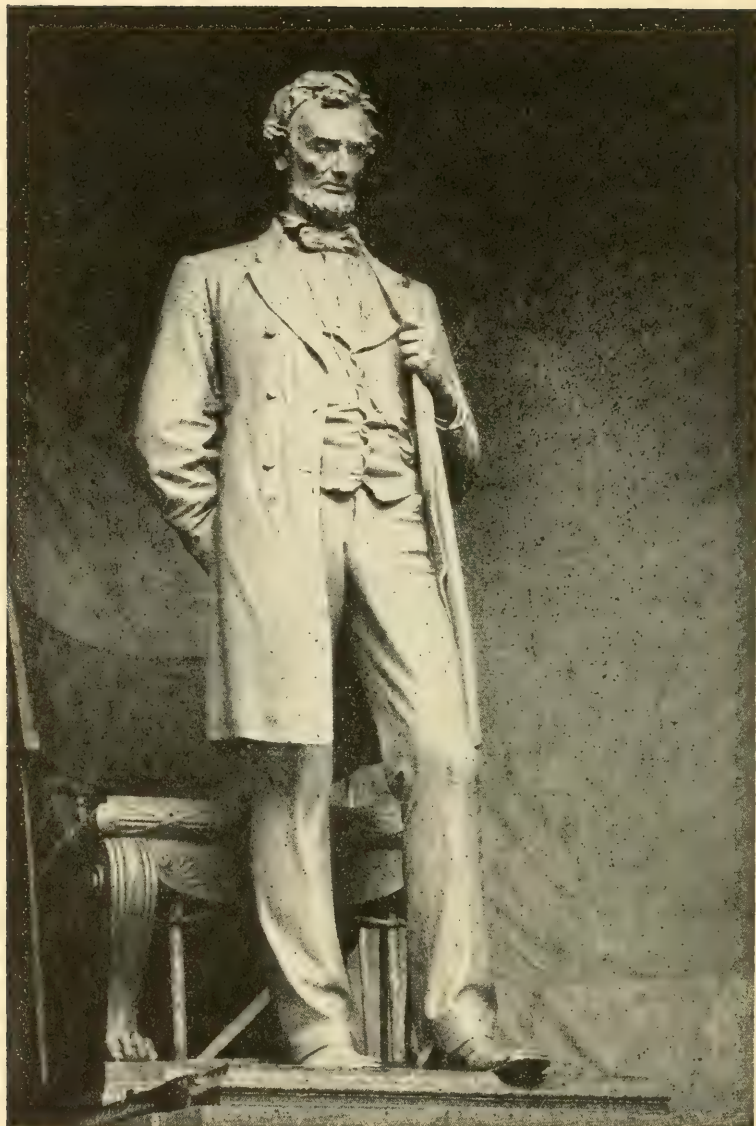
The thousands of useful inventions that were patented every year were by 1860 giving the people comforts and conveniences with which we are familiar enough to-day, but which were unknown to our forefathers of a hundred years ago. Houses were heated by stoves and hot-air furnaces, and, in the cities, were lighted by gas. Candles were going out of use and oil-lamps were taking their place. The match had been invented and was being used in every household. In fact, if we could go back to the year 1860 and get a glimpse of the houses and the streets and stores and factories, things would look in many respects very much as they look to-day.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of railroad-builders in the Fifties; of the pony express.
2. Tell the story of the westward movement in the Fifties.
3. What progress were we making in commerce and industry in the Fifties?
4. Name the cities that were growing at a rapid rate in the Fifties.
5. Give an account of every-day life in 1860.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1803, 1825, 1846, 1850, 1860.
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, George Custer, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Van Buren, Garrison, Fillmore, Pierce, Douglas, Lincoln, Buchanan, John Brown, Lee.
3. Tell what you can about: the Alien and Sedition Laws; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the Spoils System.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Westward Movement; Commerce; Manufacturing; The Growth of Cities; The Tariff; Commerce; Agriculture; Slavery.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Foreign Commerce: Bogart, 226-228.
 - (2) Internal Trade: Bogart, 228-230.
 - (3) Important Means of Communication: Bogart, 233-235.
 - (4) Application of Machinery to Agriculture: Bogart, 278-281.



Abraham Lincoln

St. Gaudens

XLI

THE BEGINNINGS OF A GREAT CONFLICT

At the time when the people of the United States were enjoying the wonderful prosperity described in the last chapter, the slavery question was hovering over the country like a dreadful cloud. The election of Lincoln was quickly followed by the withdrawal from the Union of eleven Southern States. What were the beginnings of this secession movement, and how was it dealt with by our national government?

A House Divided Against Itself. The election of Lincoln did more to stir up bad feeling on the slavery question than anything that had yet happened — more than the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, more than the Dred Scott decision, more than John Brown's Raid. The excitement was greatest in the South. The people of the South regarded the triumph of Lincoln as a death-blow to their power. By balancing slave States against free States the South for many years had been able to wield as much power as the North. But in the development of the country the scales had not been kept even. After the admission of Texas (in 1845) not a single slave State had entered the Union, whereas between 1845 and 1860 Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon had all come in as free States; and this admission of free States had given the North control of both houses of Congress. The power of the South had been slipping away long before 1860, and the election of Lincoln seemed to prove beyond doubt that henceforth the North would lead and that the South would be compelled to follow.

The people of the South viewed the new order of things with distrust and alarm. They felt that Lincoln and the Republicans would not treat them fairly. In the campaign the Republicans had declared against the extension of slavery, and

they had come into power on that issue. Lincoln also had said that if he was elected he would do all he could to prevent the extension of slavery. He would not, he said, disturb slavery in the States where it already existed, but it should not spread into new territory. The South felt that this was unjust. It felt that the Dred Scott decision made it certain that it was the right of a slave-owner to carry his slaves into a Territory, and that there was no power anywhere that could justly deprive him of this right. So in the minds of the Southern people the election of Lincoln meant that the South was to be robbed of a right that the Constitution gave it.

Then, too, the people of the South were afraid that the election of Lincoln was the first step in a movement that would one day take their slaves away from them. They believed that the Republicans had it in their minds to abolish slavery just as soon as they could do so. Lincoln, it is true, said he had no such intention, and the Republican party had never declared in favor of abolition. Nevertheless Lincoln thought that slavery was wrong, and he had said that the Republic could "not endure half slave and half free." These words, the South said, could only mean that Lincoln was for a republic that was *all* free.

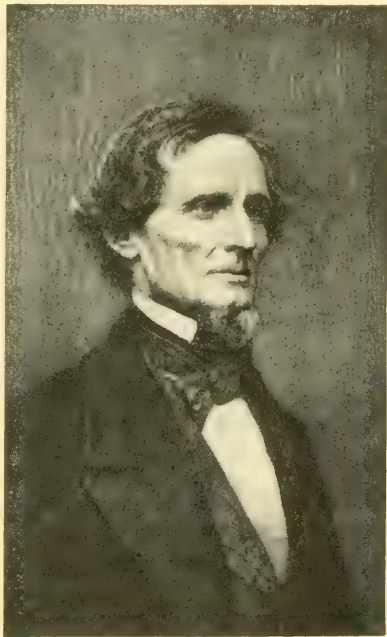
Moreover, with the election of Lincoln the country began to realize that slavery had become a moral question. By 1860 the people of the North were beginning to hate slavery. They thought it was wrong, and even sinful, to hold human beings in bondage, and for this reason many prominent men of the North had by 1860 become out-and-out abolitionists. On the other hand, the men of the South in 1860 saw no wrong whatever in slavery, and they grew very bitter indeed when they were told that slavery was a sin and that slaveholders were sinners.

So by 1860 our Union was fast becoming "a house divided against itself." In their hearts the people of the North and the people of the South no longer regarded each other with kindly feelings. Years of bickerings and strife about slavery

had destroyed the feeling of brotherhood between the two sections. In the halls of Congress, as men of the North passed men of the South, they looked into each other's eyes with hatred. "So far as I know," said a Senator of the United States in 1860, "and as I believe, every man in both houses [of Congress] is armed with a revolver and a bowie-knife."

Attempt at Compromise. Of course this state of affairs could not last forever. Men could not go on looking into each other's eyes with hate without sooner or later coming to blows. One of three things had to take place: either this slavery question must be settled by compromise as it was in 1820 and again in 1850; or, the South and the North would have to separate peacefully; or, the question would have to be settled on the field of battle.

Compromise was tried first, and tried sincerely. Many schemes were brought forward, the most important one being that offered (December 18, 1860) by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky. Crittenden's plan was to amend the Constitution in a way that would prohibit slavery north of parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$



Jefferson Davis

Born in Kentucky, in 1808; graduated at West Point; Secretary of War, 1853-57; became provisional President of the Confederacy in 1861 and President in 1862; arrested in 1865 and imprisoned; amnestied in 1868; died in 1889.

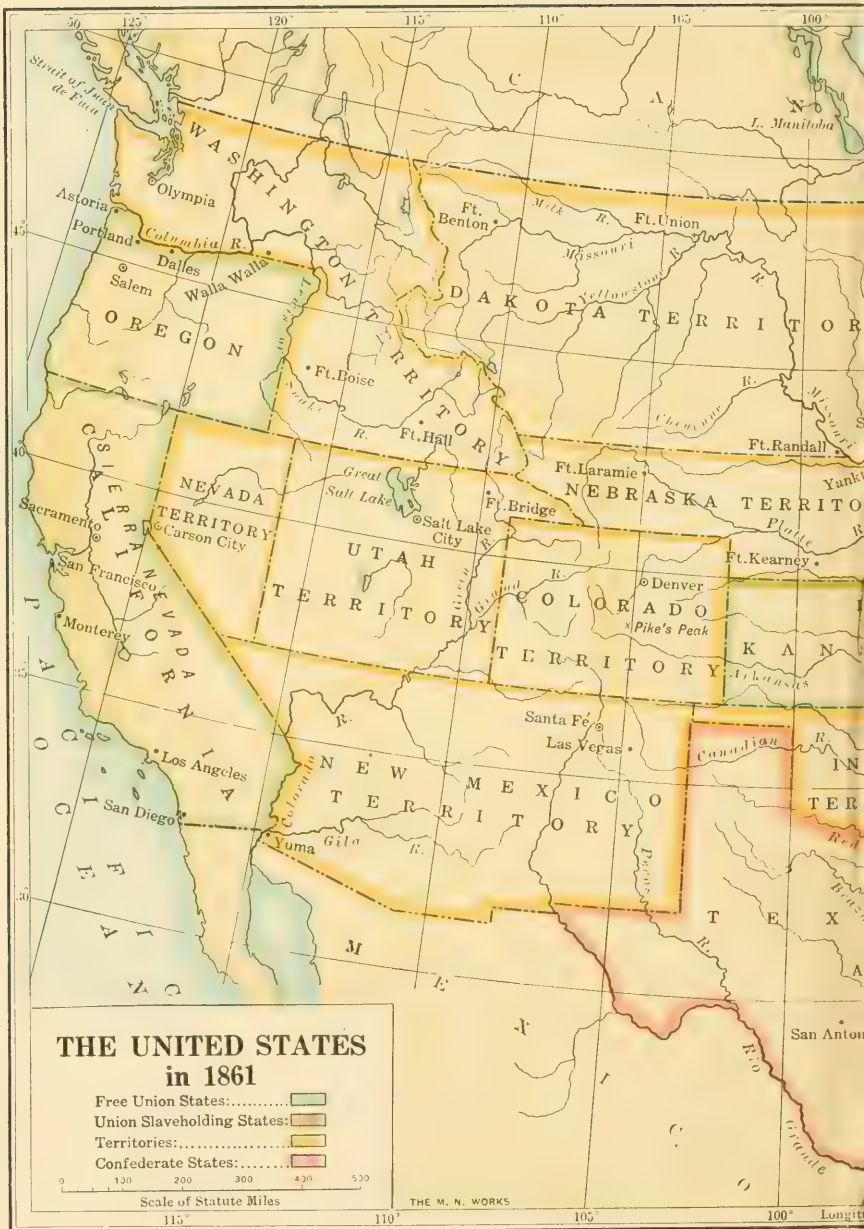
and permit slavery south of that line. This was practically what was done by the Missouri Compromise. This plan, however, did not precisely suit either the South or the North, and

there was on the scene no great peacemaker like Clay to carry the measure through Congress. Crittenden's plan failed, and with it perished all hope of a compromise.

Secession. While Crittenden's plan of compromise was being debated in Congress, the South was planning for a separation from the Union; that is, for secession. The leading State in the secession movement was South Carolina. Even before the election of Lincoln this State began to take steps toward a withdrawal from the Union, and by December 20, 1860, a convention of delegates had declared that South Carolina was no longer one of the United States. By February 1, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had also left the Union.

As soon as the seceding States had withdrawn from the old Union they at once took steps to form a new Union. On February 4, 1861, delegates from the seven seceding States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and drew up a constitution for the government of the new Republic, which was to be known as the "Confederate States of America." In this constitution of the Confederate States slavery was fully recognized as a lawful institution. The Confederate States chose Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as their President.

Davis had succeeded Calhoun as the leader of the South, and when his State seceded he went with it. He was a man of great strength of character and of sincere purpose. When he withdrew from the Senate he made a speech giving his reasons for withdrawing. He said he believed the States were their own masters when they came into the Union, and that they continued to be their own masters after they had entered the Union. If this was so, a State, he said, was free to remain in the Union or to withdraw from the Union. His State had decided to leave the Union, and he was going out with it, not because he loved the Union less, but because he loved Mississippi more. And the reason that led Davis to leave the Union was the reason that led others to leave it; they left the Union because they thought their first duty was to their State.





President Buchanan did practically nothing to check the secession movement. He was now an old man, and he seemed unable to grasp affairs with a firm hand. He allowed the secessionists to go on with their plans, seizing the property and forts of the United States government and disregarding the laws of the United States. By January 1, 1861, South Carolina had taken possession of all the forts in Charleston harbor except Fort Sumter, which was held by Major Robert Anderson of the United States army. Anderson needed supplies and more men, and the *Star of the West* was sent to his relief, bearing men and provisions. As the steamer entered the harbor with the American flag flying, she was fired upon by the secessionists and compelled to turn back. So Anderson was not relieved. Buchanan's management of affairs was so lacking in firmness that effective aid could not be given to a fort that was in need of help.

Lincoln at the Helm. But a strong man was to follow Buchanan. On March 4, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated President. In his Inaugural Address he told the South precisely what it might expect from him. "No State," he said, "can lawfully get out of the Union. . . . To the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. . . . The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property belonging to the government, and to collect duties and imposts. . . . In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. We are not enemies, but friends."

These were mild words indeed, but they really meant war. If Lincoln would not allow the seceding States to remain out of the Union, if he executed the laws of the United States on the soil of the Confederate States, if he took possession of the Southern ports and collected taxes at those ports, he was going to have war. This was what the South understood by his address, and it was what the country understood by it.

The Firing upon Fort Sumter. Fort Sumter was in need of men and supplies, and the President determined that it should be relieved. But he was not heartily supported by the men around him. His cabinet thought it wiser to abandon Fort Sumter. William H. Seward, his Secretary of State, thought it would provoke war to send supplies to the fort, and he was against doing anything that might bring on war. Even General Scott, the commanding general of the army, was opposed to anything like harsh measures. "Say to the seceded States," he said, "'Wayward sisters, depart in peace.'" Lincoln, however, did not listen to these advisers. He commanded (April 6) the army and navy to join forces and relieve Fort Sumter with men and provisions.

When the government of the Confederate States heard of Lincoln's action, Davis and his cabinet decided at once to demand the surrender of the fort, and to fire upon it if it refused to surrender. In discussing the matter, Robert Toombs, one of the members of the cabinet, said: "The firing upon that fort will inaugurate a civil war greater than any the world has yet seen. . . . You will wantonly strike a hornets' nest which extends from mountain to ocean, and legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to death." General Beauregard, an officer of the national army who had joined the Confederates, demanded of Major Anderson the surrender of the fort;

and, when this was refused, firing upon Fort Sumter began (April 12, 1861). The fort had but sixty-four men and but little ammunition. Anderson made a brave defense, but he was compelled to surrender. He was permitted to march out of the fort (April 14) with colors flying and drums beating and saluting the flag with fifty guns. Although



Charleston Harbor

there had been heavy firing, no life was lost on either side.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did the election of Lincoln cause so much excitement in the South? Why did the South fear it would lose its slaves? Why could it be truly said that in 1860 our Union was a house divided against itself?

2. Give an account of Crittenden's Compromise.

3. What States were the first to secede? Give an account of the government of the Confederate States. What reason did Davis give for seceding? How did Buchanan meet the secession movement?

4. What did Lincoln tell the seceding States they might expect of him?

5. What was the attitude of Lincoln's advisers toward secession? Give an account of the attack upon Fort Sumter.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1664, 1812, 1850, 1860.

2. Persons: William Penn, Eli Whitney, James Madison, W. H. Harrison, Webster, Fillmore, Pierce, Douglas, Lincoln, Buchanan, John Brown, Lee.

3. Tell what you can about: the Stamp Act; the Louisiana Purchase; "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Nullification and Secession; The Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Slavery.

5. Reading References:

(1) How the Civil War Began: Eggleston, 306-311.

(2) When Lincoln Was Inaugurated: Stories of the Republic, 243-259.

(3) The First Step in the War: The Civil War, 19-28.

(4) Going to the Front: The Civil War, 28-36.

(5) Fort Sumter: Hitchcock, 236-270.

XLII

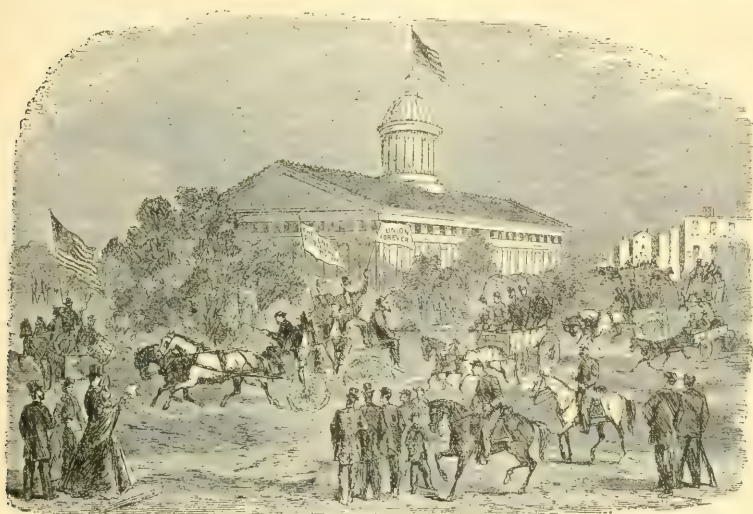
THE FIRST CLASHES OF THE CIVIL WAR

The firing upon Fort Sumter was the beginning of a civil war which lasted for four years, and which drenched the country in blood. What were the first clashes in the mighty struggle between the North and the South?

Lincoln Calls for Volunteers; the Secession of Four More States. The firing upon Fort Sumter made it certain that the South intended to fight, so Lincoln at once began to prepare for a bloody conflict. But in 1861, as in 1812 (p. 197), the nation was wholly unprepared for a great war. The regular army consisted of only about 18,000 men, and they were scattered over the country at army posts. Since the regular army was so weak, Lincoln called for volunteer soldiers. He asked for 75,000 men, and 300,000 responded. The attack upon Fort Sumter had aroused the whole country to a sense of duty. Every man had now to decide whether he was for a Union consisting of all the States, the Union Lincoln was trying to uphold, or whether he was for secession. At the North the people, Democrats and Republicans alike, decided for the Union; at the South the people, in most of the States, were on the side of secession. Every State also had to decide whether it was for Union or for disunion. Of course no free State was for secession. But there were fifteen slave States, and only seven had seceded. What would the other eight do? They gave their answer quickly after the firing on Sumter. Four (Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri) remained in the Union; and four (Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas) seceded and joined the Confederate States.

Strength of the North and the South Compared. At the

outbreak of the Civil War what was the strength of the North when compared with the strength of the South? In what re-



Volunteers Pouring into Cincinnati

spect was the outlook favorable to one section and unfavorable to the other?

In many respects the North was the stronger of the contending sections. On the side of the Union there were twenty-two States, while the Confederate States numbered only eleven. The population of the States remaining in the Union was twenty-two millions; the population of the seceded States was five and a half millions of whites and three and a half millions of blacks. The white population of the North, therefore, was about four times that of the South. In wealth and material resources the North was also far ahead of the South. The North had shops to supply its armies with the weapons of war; it had factories to make clothing for its soldiers; and it had farms to supply them with food. The South had little besides its farms, and these did not supply enough food for the people, for cotton was the chief product of the Southern plantations. Another great advantage of the North was its

control of the sea. The navy, for the most part, remained true to the Union, and nearly all the vessels of the American merchant marine — and it was very large in 1861 — were owned in the North and were at the service of the Union.

In one important respect, however, the outlook was favorable to the South. The task of the South was much lighter than the task laid out for itself by the North. The South had only to defend itself against attack and invasion; it desired only to be let alone. It was not compelled to go forth and conquer. It could win without conquering a single foot of territory; all it had to do was to hold its ground. But the North was compelled to conquer and crush, piece by piece, a country nearly five times as large as France. This was indeed a mighty undertaking; but it was a thing the North must do, or else victory would be with the South.

First Clashes. The first clashes of the Civil War occurred, naturally, in the border States, in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. The first blood was shed in the city of Baltimore. On April 19, five days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, while marching through the streets of Baltimore on its way to Washington, was attacked by a crowd of secessionists. There was shooting on both sides and several soldiers and a number of citizens were killed. The regiment fought its way to the railroad station, and within a few hours reached Washington, where it was anxiously awaited by Lincoln, who was afraid Southern troops might at any moment attack the capital.

The first clash in the West occurred in Missouri. There were many secessionists in Missouri, and it was for a while doubtful whether the State would join the Confederacy or remain in the Union. The Governor was a strong secessionist, and he tried to take his State over to the Confederates. But he was prevented from doing this by Nathaniel Lyon, who, with a small army of Union soldiers, captured the principal strongholds of the State and drove the Governor from the seat of power. Thus by the prompt action of Lyon the State was saved to the Union, and "gallant Missouri" had a death-

roll in the Union army as great as the death-roll of Massachusetts.

Another of the early clashes of the war occurred in the western part of Virginia. The interests of western Virginia lay with the North rather than with the South. Less than four per cent. of the population were slaves. Its sons attended schools in free States. The natural flow of its rivers caused it to seek a market for its products in Pittsburgh and in the towns of the Mississippi valley. It happened, there-



The Seventh Regiment Leaving New York for the Front

fore, that while the eastern part of Virginia was strongly in favor of secession, the western part was loyal to the Union. So when Virginia seceded from the Union (April 17, 1861) the people over the mountains refused to go out with her. They took steps at once to secede from eastern Virginia and form a government of their own. In order to check this movement, Confederate troops were sent into western Virginia. On June 3 the Confederates were attacked at Philippi by a Union force under General George B. McClellan, and were defeated. The people of western Virginia now carried

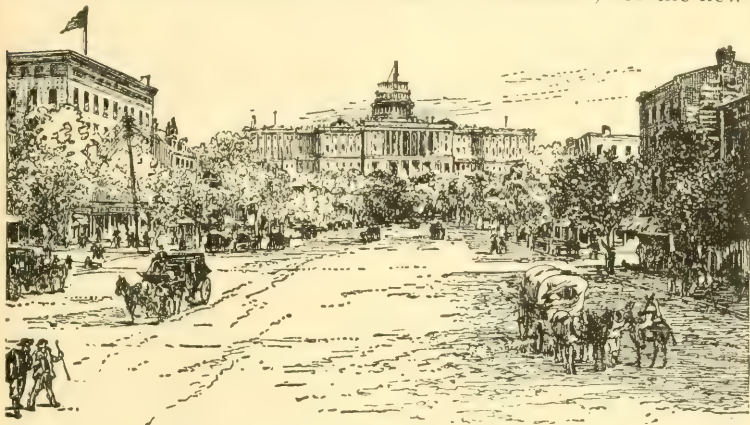
forward their plan of separation. On June 11, 1861, delegates from forty western counties met at Wheeling and organized a new State, which in 1863 was admitted as the State of West Virginia. Thus one of the first results of secession was to give a new State to the Union.

Battle of Manassas or Bull Run. The first important battle of the war was fought near Manassas, about thirty miles southwest of Washington. Lincoln's call for troops quickly brought a large army to Washington and to eastern Virginia, and it was not long before the people of the North began to demand that the army move forward and capture Richmond, which, as soon as Virginia seceded, was chosen as the new capital of the Confederacy. "On to Richmond! On to Richmond!" was the cry of the North. So it was determined to move upon Richmond. On July 16 the Union general, McDowell, marched out of Washington with about 30,000 men to give battle to the Confederate general, Beauregard, who was stationed near Manassas, along the stream of Bull Run, with about 22,000 men. Some of McDowell's men were regular, well trained soldiers, while others were raw and undisciplined. Because of a lack of discipline his army could move only about six miles a day. On July 21 the two armies met in battle, and the Union army was disastrously defeated. The retreat did not stop until many of the soldiers were within the fortifications at Washington.

McClellan Organizes the Army of the Potomac. When the Northern people heard of the defeat of their army at Manassas, they hung their heads in shame, for they felt that the Union soldiers had acted like cowards. However, the defeat was not due to cowardice, but to a lack of training and to the bad organization of the army. Lincoln saw this clearly, and at once set about making changes in the military organization. On the very day after the rout at Bull Run he summoned General McClellan from West Virginia and made him commander of all the forces in and around Washington.

McClellan found the army in a disordered, disorganized condition. Raw regiments were constantly flocking into

Washington, but little was done in the way of training the men for duty. Officers spent their time in lounging around the city. Shortly before McClellan arrived at Washington it was said that a boy threw a stone at a dog on Pennsylvania Avenue and hit three brigadier-generals. After the "Little Napoleon," as McClellan was called, appeared upon the scene, generals and other officers were not so numerous on the streets, for the new



Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, in 1861

commander kept them busy drilling their regiments and preparing their men for actual warfare. As a result of his industry and skill, McClellan by the last of October had a well-drilled, well-organized, and well-equipped army of 150,000 men — the Army of the Potomac. As a reward for his services Lincoln made (November 1, 1861) McClellan the commander of all the armies of the United States.

What was to be done with the magnificent army which McClellan had organized? The people of the North thought it ought to be led promptly against the enemy and the cry, "On to Richmond! On to Richmond!" was again heard. But McClellan was slow to move. He was a superb drill-master and organizer, but he was not a bold fighter. He thought too much about saving his men from defeat and too little about leading them on to victory. So he held his fine army in check. Sum-

mer passed, fall passed, the year (1861) passed, and still he made no advance upon Richmond.

The Blockade. As soon as Lincoln saw there was going to be war, he declared (April 19, 1861) the coast from Virginia to Texas to be in a state of blockade; he ordered that no ships from any country should be allowed to go into or out of the seaports of the South. In order to make the blockade effective, he stationed war-vessels along the coast, and if any ship attempted to enter a port or sail out from a port it was captured. The purpose of the blockade was to prevent the South from selling her cotton and tobacco to England and other countries and receiving in exchange guns, ammunition, and other military supplies. The blockade was a heavy blow to the Confederacy, for the South had no great gun-factories, and she was compelled to go outside for most of the things needed in carrying on the war.

The Capture of Mason and Slidell. On November 8, 1861, the *San Jacinto*, an American man-of-war, overhauled in the Bermuda Channel the British mail steamship *Trent* and took from her by force James Mason and John Slidell, who had been commissioned by the Confederate government to represent its interests in England and France. This act was contrary to the law of nations, and England demanded that Mason and Slidell be given up. Our government yielded, and the prisoners were placed on board an English vessel and taken to England.

The European Background of the Civil War. It was extremely fortunate that the *Trent* affair was settled in a peaceful manner. We needed the good will of England and of the other countries of Europe and at the beginning of the war it was by no means certain that we would have their good will. Indeed the European background in 1861 was not at all favorable to the North. The Emperor of France was scheming to plant the French flag on Mexican soil and he felt that he would not be able to carry out his plans if the North was successful. His sympathies, therefore, were with the South. England was in need of cotton for her factories, but

her ships were kept out of the Southern ports by the blockade. There were many Englishmen, therefore, who hoped that the South would win. Both France and England recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent; that is, they recognized it as having a government that was carrying on a war. They also declared themselves neutral, which meant that they would not fight on the side of the North or on the side of the South. But neither France nor England recognized the Confederacy as an independent nation. And lucky it was for the North that the independence of the Confederacy was not recognized! If England had given such recognition she would doubtless have broken the blockade and renewed her trade with the South, for she sadly needed that trade. Her mills were idle and her workingmen were suffering because she could get no cotton. But the English workingmen, feeling that the contest in America was between free labor and slave labor, sympathized with the North and wanted it to win even though it was necessary for British factories to close and British workingmen to go hungry. So in refusing to recognize the Confederacy England pleased her workingmen and at the same time helped the North in its fight.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What effect did the firing upon Fort Sumter have upon the country?
2. At the outbreak of the war what was the strength of the North when compared with the strength of the South? In what respects was the outlook favorable to the South?
3. When and where was the first shedding of blood in the Civil War? How was Missouri saved to the Union? What led to the formation of the State of West Virginia?
4. Give an account of the Battle of Manassas.
5. Give an account of McClellan's organization of the Army of the Potomac. Compare McClellan's skill as an organizer with his qualities as a fighter.
6. Describe the blockade. What was its purpose?
7. Give an account of the Mason and Slidell affair.
8. Describe the European background of the Civil War.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1522, 1689 (2), 1787, 1850, 1860.
2. Persons: Cabot, Drake, Raleigh, Edmund Andros, Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Douglas, Lincoln, John Brown, Lee, Davis.
3. Tell what you can about: Bacon's Rebellion; the Tories; the Treason of Arnold; the Embargo of 1807.
4. Review of Great Subjects: Wars since 1789; Foreign Relations since 1789; Population; Nullification and Secession; European Background.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The First Battle of Bull Run: The Civil War, 47-60.
 - (2) Stedman's Account of Bull Run: Hart, 305-308.
 - (3) War Preparations: The Civil War, 36-46.

XLIII

THE WAR IN THE WEST

For several months after the outbreak of the war the Union forces followed no definite plan of campaign. By the close of 1861, however, it was clear to the minds of Lincoln and his advisers that the Union forces must do three things: first, they must capture Richmond; second, they must gain full possession of the Mississippi River and thus cut the Confederacy into two parts; third, they must make the blockade effective and not let the South get any supplies from abroad. This meant war in Virginia and the neighboring States, war in the West, and war along the coast and on the ocean. In this chapter we shall have an account of the fighting in the West in 1862.

Fort Donelson and Fort Henry. The first fighting in 1862 was in the West, where the Confederates held a series of fortified posts at Columbus—in Kentucky—Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Bowling Green, and Cumberland Gap (map, p. 316). Of these strongholds Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, were the most important, for they guarded waterways that led far into the center of the Confederacy. It was decided, therefore, by the Union generals to secure possession of these two forts as speedily as possible. In February Commodore Foote, with a flotilla of gunboats, made his way to Fort Henry and captured it. The Confederate soldiers in the fort, however, escaped to Fort Donelson, twelve miles away. Foote now returned with his gunboats to the Ohio, and ascended the Cumberland to attack Fort Donelson by water, while General U. S. Grant was to attack it by land. The gunboats were driven back; but Grant, with an army of 30,000 men, pressed hard upon the fort, and after three days of fierce fighting com-

pelled it to surrender (February 16), capturing about 15,000 Confederate soldiers. Thus General Grant won the first important Union victory of the war.

The capture of Fort Donelson was an event of the greatest importance. It brought the whole of Kentucky and a large part of Tennessee under control of the Union forces, and it

Hq. U.S. Army in the Field
Camp near Shiloh, Feb. 16, 1862

Gen. S. B. Buckner,
Conf. Army.

Sir, Yours of this date proposing
Amistice, and appointment of Commissioners
to settle terms of Capitulation is just received.
No terms except unconditional and immediate
surrender can be accepted.

I propose to move immediately upon
your works. I am Sir, very respectfully
your obt. Servt.
U. S. Grant,
Brig. Gen.

Facsimile of the Original "Unconditional Surrender" Dispatch,
which Grant Sent to the Confederate General

opened a road into the heart of the Confederacy. It inspired the North with confidence and hope, for it showed that Western men could fight as bravely as Southern men. It also had the effect of bringing General Grant to the front.

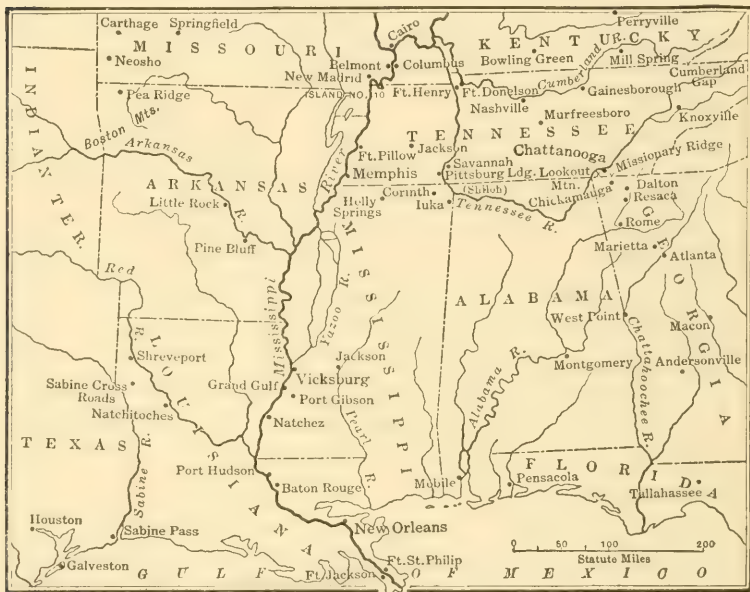
Before the Civil War little was known of this great military hero. Grant was trained for war in the Military Academy at West Point, where he was graduated in 1843, standing twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine. He served as a lieutenant in the Mexican war and won some distinction for his bravery. In 1854 he resigned from the army and settled

near St. Louis, where he tried to make a living by farming, but failed. In 1860 he moved with his family to Galena, Illinois, and took a position in his father's store at a salary of \$800 a year. Grant was then thirty-eight years of age. He had accomplished but little and he seemed to be without ambition. His nature seemed asleep. If he had died in 1860 he would have filled an obscure grave. But at the outbreak of the Civil War he awoke to new life and his great strength and power as a man began to appear. He went into the war believing that the North was right and that the Union must be saved.

He began as a captain, but was quickly made a general. After the success at Fort Donelson he became a central figure of the war. In stature he was short and he was slightly built. In his bearing and in his dealings with men he was simple, honest, and unpretending. If he was ever troubled by fear, nobody detected it; for he would watch the progress of a bloody battle as quietly and as calmly as an ordinary man would watch a game of chess. His perseverance in battle was perhaps greater than that of any other general that ever lived. Whether fortune was on his side or against him made little difference; he fought until the enemy was crushed and victory was complete.

Battle of Shiloh. After the fall of Fort Donelson the Confederate troops in the West were compelled, of course, to move their line of defense farther south. Their rallying-point was now at Corinth (map, p. 316), a great railroad center in northern Mississippi. Here there was a large army under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston, one of the ablest of the Southern generals. The Union army, after its success at Donelson, was led by Grant up the Tennessee to Pittsburgh Landing (map, p. 316), near Shiloh Church. Here Grant was to be joined by General Buell. But before Buell arrived Johnston suddenly attacked (April 6) the Union army, and on the first day of the battle drove Grant from his position. On the morning of the 7th, however, Buell arrived with fresh troops and saved the Union army from defeat.

The battle of Shiloh was hard fought on both sides. The Confederates lost Johnston, whose nobleness of soul shone to the last moment of his life. While he was lying on the field suffering, he sent his surgeon to attend to the wounds of a Union soldier not far away; and while the surgeon was giving relief to an enemy, the brave general bled to death. After Johnston's death Beauregard took command of the Confeder-



The War in the West

ate forces and led them back to Corinth. But they were not permitted to remain there, for General Halleck, the commander of the armies of the West, followed them with a large force and compelled them to move (May 30) farther south.

Bragg's Raid into Kentucky; Murfreesboro. After the battle of Shiloh it was several months before there was any more desperate fighting in the West between the land forces. In the fall the Confederate general Bragg passed the Union lines and made a raid into Kentucky. He was moving rapidly

northward when he was met by Buell near Perryville (October 8) and driven back into Tennessee. On the last day of the year, Bragg, while in winter quarters at Murfreesboro, was attacked by the Union general Rosecrans. After one of the most bloody battles of the war the Confederate troops withdrew from the field, although it would hardly be correct to say that they were defeated.

Opening the Mississippi. At the beginning of 1862 the Confederates controlled the Mississippi from Columbus, in



Farragut's Fleet Passing the Forts Below New Orleans

Kentucky, to the mouth of the river. After the fall of Donelson, however, Columbus was abandoned, and the Confederates moved down to Island Number 10. Here, while the battle of Shiloh was raging (April 7), they were attacked by Foote with gunboats and by Pope with a land force, and were driven from their position. Two months later Fort Pillow and Memphis were abandoned by the Confederates. The Mississippi was now controlled by the Union forces as far south as Vicksburg.

While the upper Mississippi was being opened by Foote, the lower Mississippi was being opened by Admiral Farragut, who in April entered the mouth of the river with a great fleet,

his purpose being to capture New Orleans, the largest city of the Confederacy. Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip guarded the river on the west and east (map, p. 316). Across the river between the forts were stretched enormous chains to prevent the passing of the enemy's vessels. Above the forts was a flotilla of Confederate gunboats. In spite of forts and chains and gunboats, Farragut forced his way up the river to New Orleans and captured it (April 25). He then continued up the river and captured Baton Rouge. The Union forces now had full control of the Mississippi, excepting the stretch between Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the plan of campaign for the Union forces?
2. Give an account of the capture of Fort Donelson. What effect did the capture of this fort have? Sketch the life of General Grant up to 1861.
3. Give an account of the battle of Shiloh.
4. Describe the military operations of Bragg in 1862.
5. How was the Mississippi opened at the North? At the South?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1588, 1781, 1783, 1861.
2. Persons: Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Davis.
3. Tell what you can about: the *Invincible Armada*; "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; the Ordinance of 1787.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars since 1783; Steps in the Formation of the Union; Agriculture; Manufacturing.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Capture of Fort Donelson: The Civil War, 60-75.
 - (2) Grant's Account of the Battle of Shiloh: The Civil War, 75-84.
 - (3) The Peninsular Campaign: The Civil War, 113-120.
 - (4) Opening of the Lower Mississippi: The Civil War, 98-113; Hitchcock, 288-293.
 - (5) Ulysses S Grant: Faris, 291-306.

XLIV

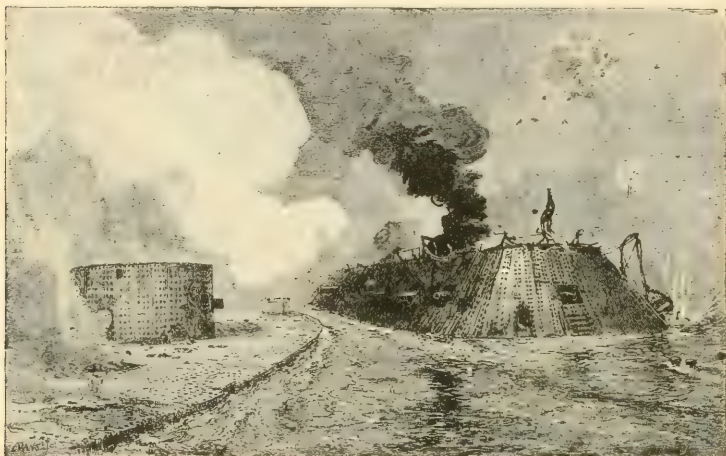
THE WAR IN THE EAST

In the last chapter we followed the course of the war in the West through the year 1862. In this chapter we shall have an account of the fighting in the East through the year 1862 and a part of 1863.

The Merrimac and the Monitor. In the East the country at the beginning of 1862 was anxiously waiting for McClellan to lead his splendid army against Richmond. But more than two months passed before the slow and cautious general began to advance. In the meantime there occurred (March 9) in Hampton Roads, at the mouth of the James River, one of the most interesting events of the war. This was the battle of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. The latter was an ironclad ram which the Confederates fitted out to destroy the ships of the Union navy stationed in Chesapeake Bay. On March 8 the *Merrimac* attacked the *Cumberland*. The battle was between an ironclad and a wooden ship. The shot from the *Cumberland* glanced from the iron sides of the *Merrimac* like so many peas; but when the iron beak of the *Merrimac* rammed the wooden vessel in the side, it made a great hole through which water rushed, and the *Cumberland*, with all on board, went down. Next the *Merrimac* attacked another wooden vessel, the *Congress*, and it too went down.

The next day (March 9), as the *Merrimac* was going forth to renew its work of destruction, there hove in sight a strange-looking craft, which was likened by some to "a cheese-box on a raft" and by others to "a tin can on a shingle." The new-comer was the *Monitor*, a low-decked, ironclad vessel with a revolving turret carrying heavy guns. She had been fitted out hurriedly in New York and had come down to

fight the *Merrimac*. The little *Monitor* at once gave battle to the Confederate ram. The fight was now between two ironclads. It was a gallant struggle on both sides, but neither vessel won a decided victory. Nevertheless the *Merrimac*



The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*

put back to Norfolk and did no further mischief to the Union navy.

Peninsular Campaign. A few days after the battle of the ironclads McClellan began his long-delayed advance upon Richmond. Leaving Washington (March 17), he took his army by water to Fortress Monroe, from which place he marched his troops up the peninsula that lies between the York and James rivers. He spent a month in preparing for the capture of Yorktown; but, just as he was ready to attack, the Confederates slipped away. McClellan pursued them, and engaged them in battle at Williamsburg. At night the Confederates again slipped away and marched toward Richmond. McClellan followed them until they were within seven miles of the Confederate capital. He took a position on the Chickahominy River (map, p. 322) near Fair Oaks, where he was attacked (May 31) by the Confederates, who on the first day of the battle were successful, but on the sec-

and day were defeated. In the battle General Joseph E. Johnston, the commander of the Confederates, was wounded. General Robert E. Lee was appointed in his place.

Lee had been trained for the army at West Point, where he was graduated in 1829, second in his class. He served in the Mexican War under Scott and rendered valuable service at Vera Cruz. At the outbreak of the war he was an officer in the Union army and was in line for promotion to the highest rank. Indeed, the chief command of the Union forces was practically offered to him. But he refused the offer. He loved the Union, but he could not, he said, lead an army of invasion into his native State. So he left the Union army and went over to the Confederacy. In doing this he followed what to him seemed the true path of duty. Lee proved to be a tower of strength to the Confederacy. His high character and noble purposes won the esteem and admiration of friend and foe, and he managed the Southern forces with such ability that he secured for himself a foremost rank among the great generals of history.

It had been planned that in the attack upon Richmond McClellan should be assisted by McDowell, who had an army of 40,000 men. But this plan was brought to naught by "Stonewall" Jackson, perhaps the greatest military genius produced by the Civil War. This daring and brilliant general, with 15,000 men, rushed down the Shenandoah valley, carrying everything before him. He cleared the valley of Union troops and marched his army so close to Washington that the safety of the capital was threatened. Lincoln was greatly alarmed by Jackson's movements, and he recalled McDowell to protect the capital.

Jackson, after giving the people of Washington this scare, made his way back to Richmond and joined Lee in the struggle against McClellan, who was greatly crippled by the absence of McDowell's army. On June 25 fighting began at Mechanicsville and continued in the neighborhood of Richmond for seven days. During this long battle there was hard fighting on both sides, and the loss of life was very

great. The victory — if there was a victory at all — was on the side of the Confederates, for they checked the advance



The War in the East

of the Union army and saved their capital. So McClellan's Peninsular Campaign ended in failure.

Second Battle of Manassas; Antietam; Fredericksburg.—Lincoln, having now lost confidence in McClellan, caused a new army — the Army of Virginia — to be organized, and placed Pope (p. 317) at its head. He met (August 29–30) the Confederates under Lee on the old battlefield of Manassas, and was defeated. In September McClellan was placed in command "of all the troops for the defense of the capital"; and Pope, relieved at his own request, was assigned to the Northwest.

After his victory at Manassas, Lee crossed the Potomac and marched into Maryland. McClellan followed, and on the 16th and 17th of September a great battle was fought at Antietam Creek. The losses on both sides were enormous, but the loss of the Confederates was the heavier. Lee re-

crossed the Potomac, but McClellan failed to pursue him.

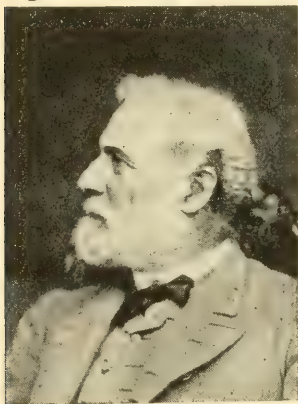
Because McClellan did not follow up his victory at Antietam he was again removed, and the command was given to General Burnside; but the choice was most unfortunate for the Union army. Burnside had no confidence in himself, and his soldiers had no confidence in him. He attacked the Confederates under Lee (December 13) at Fredericksburg (map, p. 322), and was defeated with terrible slaughter. Burnside was soon removed, and General Hooker — “Fighting Joe Hooker” — was appointed in his place.

The Emancipation Proclamation. When Lee was invading Maryland, Lincoln made “a solemn vow before God” that if the Confederates were driven back he would celebrate the victory by giving the slaves their freedom. Accordingly, five days after Lee was defeated at Antietam, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared that if the seceded States did not lay down their arms and return to the Union before January 1, 1863, all persons held as slaves within the Confederate lines should be thenceforth and forever free. This proclamation did not apply to the slave States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, for these were loyal to the Union. Nor did it apply to the western part of Virginia or to such parts of the Confederacy as were under the control of Union troops. Lincoln issued this proclamation simply as a war measure; for under the Constitution he had no right to give the slaves their freedom. The proclamation was issued in order to save the Union. If the South had laid down its arms and come back into the Union, not a single slave would have been taken from his master. But the Confederacy did not heed the proclamation. It preferred to go on with the fight.

Battle of Chancellorsville. No wonder the Confederacy refused to lay down its arms on January 1, 1863, in accordance with the terms of the Emancipation Proclamation; for at that time the prospects of the South were very bright, while a deep gloom overspread the North because of the terrible

disaster at Fredericksburg. And the gloom of the North was presently to become deeper.

When Hooker took command of the Army of the Potomac it was disheartened and sulky and was dropping to pieces. Desertions were at the rate of two hundred in a day. Eighty-five thousand officers and men were absent from duty without leave. But Hooker was a good manager and a strict disciplinarian. By the beginning of April he had his army well organized and was ready for hard fighting. On May 1



Robert E. Lee

Born in Virginia, in 1807; died
in 1870.

Hooker, with more than 100,000 men, advanced upon Lee, who was at Chancellorsville with an army of 60,000 men. Lee, at great risk, divided his army, giving a portion of it to Jackson and ordering him to make a roundabout march and attack Hooker on the Union right. While the Union soldiers on the right were cooking their food, pitching their tents, and, in some cases, playing cards, "there came upon them a sudden irruption of rabbits, birds, deer, wild creatures of the woods fleeing from some

danger behind." The danger from which the frightened creatures were fleeing was Stonewall Jackson, dashing through the woods with 26,000 men. He fell upon Hooker's right wing and crushed it at a blow, throwing the entire Union army into confusion. But it was Jackson's last charge, for in the battle he received a mortal wound.

Lee completed the work begun by Jackson and carried the Confederates on to victory. The defeat at Chancellorsville was even more disastrous than the defeat at Fredericksburg, and when the news of the battle reached the North, discouragement was seen written on every brow. Many men who were in earnest in their support of the war gave up all idea that the South could be conquered. The darkest days for

the Union were the days just after the battle of Chancellorsville.

Naval Warfare. Since the Confederacy had no navy worthy of the name, the naval operations of the Civil War were not of very great importance. The chief task of the Union navy was to maintain an effective blockade. This was no easy task, for there was a coast-line of 1,900 miles to be guarded. By the end of the first year of the war most of the sea-coast from Norfolk to the Gulf was in Union hands, and by the end of the second year the Gulf ports also were controlled by Union war-ships. The blockade was in the main a success. There was, to be sure, considerable blockade running — dashing past the blockading vessels under the cover of darkness,—but the great volume of the trade of the South was destroyed by the blockade.

The South in turn managed to inflict great injury upon the trade of the North. She purchased abroad a small fleet of armed cruisers, and sent them roving about the seas to capture American merchant-ships wherever found. The most famous of these commerce-destroyers was the *Alabama*, commanded by Raphael Semmes. This vessel was built in England, with the full knowledge of the English government. She was manned by English sailors, but commanded by Confederate officers. The *Alabama* cruised in the Atlantic Ocean for two years and captured sixty-six merchant-vessels. In June, 1864, she was sunk off Cherbourg (France) by the American man-of-war *Kearsarge*, commanded by John A. Winslow. The *Shenandoah* was another famous commerce-destroyer. She was purchased in England and armed with guns delivered to her by a British ship at a barren island near Madeira. She cruised in the Pacific, and destroyed thirty-eight vessels before the end of the Civil War.

After the war Great Britain was asked to pay damages for the injury inflicted by these vessels upon our commerce. Great Britain at first refused to pay damages, but in 1871, by the treaty of Washington, all disputed questions were submitted to arbitration. Accordingly in 1872 a board of arbitra-

tion met at Geneva and awarded \$15,500,000 to be distributed among those whose ships and property had been destroyed. This is known as the *Geneva Award*.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the encounter between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.
2. Give an account of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. Sketch the life of General Lee up to 1862.
3. When, by whom, and with what results was the second battle of Manassas fought? The battle of Antietam Creek? The battle at Fredericksburg?
4. When and under what circumstances was the Emancipation Proclamation issued? What were the provisions of this proclamation?
5. Give an account of the battle at Chancellorsville in May, 1863.
6. How did the South manage to inflict injury upon the commerce of the North?
7. Give an account of the treaty of Washington and the Geneva Award.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1803, 1846, 1850, 1861, 1862.
2. Persons: James Oglethorpe, Marquette, La Salle, Garrison, Fillmore, Davis, Grant.
3. Tell what you can about: the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish; the Northwest Territory; the Convention of 1787; the Capture of Mason and Slidell.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars since 1789; Slavery; Discovery and Exploration.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*: Hitchcock, 274-286; The Civil War, 84-98.
 - (2) Lee and Grant: Chandler, 274-287.
 - (3) The Emancipation Proclamation: McLaughlin, 292-293.
 - (4) The Peninsular Campaign: The Civil War, 113-120.
 - (5) Richmond Scenes in 1862: The Civil War, 150-160.
 - (6) The *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge*: The Civil War, 161-173.
 - (7) Robert E. Lee: Faris, 216-226.

XLV

THE CLOSE OF THE STRUGGLE

In the last two chapters we followed the course of the Civil War from the capture of Fort Donelson, in February, 1862, by the Union forces, to the defeat of the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville in May, 1863. For the people of the North this was a period of great doubt and uncertainty; for, although during this time the Union forces in the West were in the main successful, in the East they were in the main unsuccessful. In this chapter we shall follow the story of the war to its close, and as we proceed we shall find the North growing more hopeful at every step.

Battle of Gettysburg. After his great victory at Chancellorsville, Lee again crossed the Potomac. This time he led his army through Maryland into Pennsylvania, advancing as far as Chambersburg and Carlisle, and even shaking the houses in Harrisburg with the roar of his cannon. It was his plan to frighten and, if possible, to capture Philadelphia and New York. The North had good reason to be alarmed by Lee's bold movements, and the Army of the Potomac, under the command of General Meade, was hurried North to check the Confederate advance. Meade faced Lee near the town of Gettysburg (map, p. 322) on July 1, 1863, and there followed the greatest battle of the Civil War. Both armies were in excellent condition for fighting, and both sides fought as if everything depended upon the outcome of the battle. The fighting continued for three days.

On the afternoon of the third day General Pickett made a most desperate effort to break through the Union lines, but was unsuccessful. After the failure of Pickett's charge the Confederates gave up the fight. Lee led his army back into Virginia, where he remained undisturbed until the spring of

1864. In the stubborn and bloody battle of Gettysburg the Union army lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 23,000 out of 93,500 men; the Confederates lost 20,500 out of 70,000.

Fall of Vicksburg. Along with the victory at Gettysburg came another great Union victory at Vicksburg. It will be remembered that after the capture of New Orleans by Farragut in April, 1862, the Mississippi from Vicksburg to Port Hudson still remained in the possession of the Confederates. In the fall of 1862 General Grant set out to capture Vicksburg and Port Hudson and thus open the Mississippi throughout its entire length. His first attempt failed, but failure with Grant was only an inspiration to fight harder than ever. He pushed on with his plans for the capture of the Gibraltar of the West—as Vicksburg was called—and before the end of May (1863) had invested the city with a large army. For weeks he stormed the place with shot and shell by day and by night. At last, when food was gone and further resistance seemed useless, Vicksburg surrendered, and 30,000 Confederate soldiers were made prisoners of war. The surrender was made July 4, only a day after the Confederates were turned back at Gettysburg. On July 9 Port Hudson fell. The Mississippi from its source to its mouth was now under the control of the Union forces. Its waters, as Lincoln said, flowed unvexed to the sea. Thus by the capture of Vicksburg General Grant cut the Confederacy in twain and accomplished one of the great purposes of the Union plan of campaign.

Chickamauga and Chattanooga. With Vicksburg and the Mississippi safe in their hands, the Union forces were free to advance eastward and help Rosecrans, who was soon to be in sore need of help. For six months after the battle of Murfreesboro (p. 316) Rosecrans made no forward movement. In June (1863), however, he marched against Bragg with a superior force, and on September 8 drove him from Chattanooga (map, p. 316). This city was a stronghold of great importance. It was the natural highway between Tennessee and Georgia, and at the time was the chief railway

center of the South. Bragg, after withdrawing from Chattanooga, took a position close by in Chickamauga (map, p. 316) valley. Here Rosecrans and Bragg met and fought a battle that lasted two days. On the afternoon of the second day the Confederates drove the right wing of the Union army from the field, and it looked as if their victory would be overwhelming. But the left wing of the Union army was commanded by General Thomas, one of the ablest and bravest generals of the Civil War. Thomas held the left wing firm and fast, and saved the Union army from a disgraceful rout, although he could not save it from defeat. At night the Union troops withdrew to Chattanooga, where they were surrounded by the army of Bragg and held until they were threatened with starvation.

Before it was too late, fresh troops arrived for the relief of Chattanooga. Grant was placed in command of all the forces and was hurried to the scene. Fighting Joe Hooker came with an army from Virginia. Sherman also hastened with an army from the West. Thomas took command of the army of Rosecrans.

On November 23 the Union forces under Grant began to fight their way out of Chattanooga. On November 24 Hooker fought the battle of Lookout Mountain—the Battle Above the Clouds—and drove the Confederates from their position. The next day Thomas and Sherman attacked Missionary Ridge and captured it at the point of the bayonet. Bragg, now beaten in every direction, retreated to Dalton, in Georgia.

Thus at Chattanooga Grant led the Union army to victory, and opened a doorway through which Union troops from the West might pour into Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. With the capture of Chattanooga the Union conquest of the Mississippi valley was complete. There remained to be conquered only the seaboard States.

Sherman's March to the Sea. Grant's great services in the West were highly appreciated by Lincoln. "I like that man," said the President, "for he wins battles." After his

crowning success at Chattanooga, Grant was called to Washington, and in March (1864) was given the command of all the armies of the United States, and had conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-general, a title that had hitherto been held only by Washington and Scott. Grant's place in the West was given to Sherman, who had his headquarters at Chattanooga.

Grant and Sherman now agreed upon a final plan of campaign. According to this plan, Grant was to fight Lee in Virginia, while Sherman was to attack Joseph E. Johnston¹ at Dalton, conquer Georgia, and move northward with the purpose of joining the Union army in Virginia and assisting in the capture of Richmond. Both generals were to begin their movements on the same day, and both were to keep on fighting continuously, regardless of the season or weather.

Accordingly, on the appointed day (May 5, 1864) Sherman marched against Johnston at Dalton and drove him from his position. He then pushed on to Atlanta, a great railway center which furnished to the Confederate armies large supplies of ammunition and clothing. The road at Atlanta was rough and mountainous and Sherman was compelled to march slowly. And he was also compelled to do much hard fighting on the way, for Johnston was a skilful general and he gave battle to Sherman wherever he could do so to advantage. Between Dalton and Atlanta four sharp battles — Resaca, Dallas, Lost Mountain, and Kenesaw Mountain — were fought. While Johnston was thus stubbornly opposing the advance of the Union army, he was relieved of his command and General J. B. Hood was appointed in his place. Hood made a brave attempt to check Sherman and save Atlanta, but failed. On September 2, 1864, Sherman took possession of the city and Hood was forced to retire.

After withdrawing from Atlanta, Hood marched toward Nashville, hoping that Sherman would follow. But, since Thomas was at Nashville, Sherman did not follow. He be-

¹ Bragg had by this time been removed from the command at Dalton.

lieved Thomas could take care of himself, and in this he was right; for, when Hood attacked Nashville, Thomas sallied forth (December 15-16, 1864) and utterly routed Hood's army.

With Hood's army out of the way, Sherman had no foe of any strength to oppose him. On November 16 he started with 60,000 men on his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. His army moved in four columns by four parallel roads. On the march it cut telegraph wires, tore up railroad tracks, and burned bridges. The soldiers helped themselves freely along the route to grain and meat and vegetables, and took all the horses, mules, and wagons they needed. In its path the army laid waste a belt of country sixty miles wide at its widest point and three hundred miles long. It was a cruel thing to do, but, as Sherman said, "war is hell." Nothing impeded the progress of the army, and on the 21st of December it entered the city of Savannah in triumph. Sherman at once sent a letter to Lincoln, saying, "I beg leave to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah."

Sherman remained in Savannah about a month, and then, according to the plan of campaign, moved northward to join Grant in Virginia. He was complete master of the country through which he passed. By the last of March he had subdued South Carolina and had advanced far into North Carolina. With the exception of Virginia and a part of North Carolina, the entire Confederacy was now in the control of the Union forces.

Grant's Campaign Against Lee. While Sherman was making himself master of Georgia and the Carolinas, Grant was in Virginia, pounding away at Lee. On May 4, 1864, Grant, with 130,000 men, set out to capture Richmond. He crossed the Rapidan River and plunged into the forest known as the Wilderness (map, p. 322), where he met Lee, who had only 70,000 men. The fighting in the woods was fierce, and the loss of life on both sides was frightful. From the Wilderness Grant pushed on to Spottsylvania Court-House, where he fought the Confederates for five days, losing thou-

sands of his men, but failing to defeat the enemy. But, whether losing or winning, Grant pressed on, his plan being to defeat Lee by incessant attacks. From Spottsylvania he pushed forward and attacked the Confederates at Cold Harbor, where he was beaten back with terrible slaughter. He now hurried past Richmond, with the view of capturing Petersburg, which was simply the back door of Richmond. But Petersburg had been reached by Lee first, and a long siege was necessary before it could be taken (map, p. 322).

While Grant was laying siege to Petersburg, the Shenandoah valley was the scene of stirring events. In July Lee ordered General Early to move down the valley with 20,000 men and threaten Washington, hoping that in this way he would draw Grant from the siege of Petersburg. Early made a bold dash down the valley and at one time was within six miles of Washington. He even invaded Pennsylvania and set fire to the town of Chambersburg. General Philip Sheridan was sent after Early with orders from Grant to "go in." Sheridan "went in" with a vengeance. He defeated Early at Winchester and sent him "whirling up the valley." He then laid waste the beautiful valley, the devastation being so complete that "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his provisions with him."

Early was quickly reinforced after his defeat at Winchester, and during Sheridan's absence he attacked the Union army at Cedar Creek and defeated it and sent it fleeing down the valley in confusion. Sheridan at the time was at Winchester, thirteen miles away, and hearing

The terrible grumble and rumble and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,

put spurs to his horse and galloped toward his army. As he dashed along, he met some of his men running from the enemy. To the fugitives he cried out: "Never mind, boys, we are all right! We will whip them yet!" These words of encouragement caused the soldiers to turn and follow their

leader, who renewed the battle against Early and defeated him.

After Sheridan had finished his work in the Shenandoah valley he returned to Petersburg to assist Grant. The siege of the stronghold continued for several months. Grant drew his lines ever tighter and tighter, and at last (April 3, 1865) Petersburg fell, and with it fell Richmond.

The fall of Richmond marked the end of the war and the downfall of the Confederacy. Lee, after leaving the city he had defended so bravely for nearly four years, attempted to break through the Union lines; but he was checked at every step by a greatly superior force, and there was nothing for him to do but lay down his arms. On April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court-House, he surrendered to Grant his army of 28,000 men. As he took leave of his soldiers he said: "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you." Grant in his hour of triumph was courteous and kind. He did not require Lee to give up his sword. He allowed his soldiers to keep their horses, saying



Review of the Union Troops at the Close of the War

they would need them to work their little farms. He gave the conquered army enough food to last five days.

After the fall of Richmond, President Davis, with his cabinet and clerks, went to Charlotte, North Carolina; but the surrender of Johnston to Sherman near Raleigh (April 26) made it necessary for the Confederate government to disband and flee. Davis made his way to Georgia, but was captured at Irwinville (May 10, 1865). He was sent to Fortress Monroe, in Virginia, where he was held a prisoner until 1867, when he was released on bail.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was Lee's purpose in invading Pennsylvania? Give an account of the battle of Gettysburg.

2. Give an account of the fall of Vicksburg. Why was the capture of this city an important event?

3. Give an account of the battle of Chickamauga. What great service did General Thomas render in the battle? Give an account of the battle of Chattanooga.

4. What was the final plan of campaign mapped out by Grant and Sherman? Give an account of the fighting between Chattanooga and Atlanta. Describe Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea.

5. Give an account of Grant's campaign against Lee from the battle of the Wilderness to the beginning of the siege of Petersburg. Describe Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah valley. What was the closing event of the war?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1607, 1776, 1825, 1860, 1861, 1865.

2. Persons: John Smith, James Madison, Monroe, Van Buren, Garrison, Pierce, Douglas, Lincoln, Buchanan, John Brown, Lee, Grant.

3. Tell what you can about: the Declaration of Independence; the Whisky Insurrection; the Spoils System; the Capture of Mason and Slidell; the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.

4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars since 1789; The French in North America; Education; The Presidents: their Election and Inauguration.

5. Reading References:

(1) Gettysburg: Hitchcock, 306-328.

(2) Vicksburg: Hitchcock, 295-305.

(3) The Last Scene: Hitchcock, 329-346.

(4) Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg: The Civil War, 180-185.

(5) The Surrender: The Civil War, 196-210.

(6) Read in the class, "O Captain! My Captain!": The Civil War, 221; also Sheridan's Ride: Stories of the Republic, 394-397; also Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg: Lane and Hill, 147-148.

IMPORTANT MOVEMENTS IN THE WAR OF SECESSION

WEST

EAST

Border fighting in
West Virginia, Kentucky
and Missouri

(U)

'61

(C)

Fort Sumter

(C)

Bull Run

(U)

Coast Battles

Forts Henry and
Donelson
Island No. 10
Shiloh
New Orleans
Corinth

(U)

(U)

(U)

(U)

(U)

'62

(C)

Peninsula Campaign

(C)

Jackson in the
Shenandoah

(U)

Lee's First Invasion

(C)

Fredericksburg

Union side successful
in the West

Confederate side successful
in the East

Vicksburg
Port Hudson

(U)

(U)

Mississippi River open

Chickamauga
Chattanooga

(C)

(U)

'63

(C)

Chancellorsville

(U)

Lee's Second Invasion
and Gettysburg

Central gateway open

Union Side has the advantage
both in the East and in the West

Sherman's March
from Chattanooga

(U)

'64

(C)

(U)

Grant vs. Lee in

Wilderness Campaign

(Desperate fighting
Victories for both sides)

to Atlanta and Savannah in the East

Nashville

(U)

(U)

Sheridan in the
Shenandoah

(U) Union victories

(C) Confederate victories

'65

Grant, Sherman, Thomas and
Sheridan all converging to-
ward Lee's Army and Richmond
Surrender of the Confederate Armies

XLVI

WAR-TIMES NORTH AND SOUTH

In the last four chapters we had an account of the fighting during the Civil War. In this chapter we shall learn of some important events that occurred during the war but that were not of a strictly military nature.

Cost of the War. The war saved the Union and gave freedom to the slaves. The price paid in blood and treasure was enormous. The cost in lives was far greater than the cost of all our former wars put together. On the Union side more than 360,000 men were killed in battle or died of wounds or diseases. How many gave up their lives for the Confederacy can not be accurately stated, but it is likely that the South suffered almost as heavily in killed and wounded as the North.

The cost of the Civil War in money was tremendous. It has been estimated that the total cost was \$8,000,000,000, the cost to the Union being \$5,000,000,000 and the cost to the South being \$3,000,000,000. This estimate includes not only the money spent in conducting military operations, but also the destruction to property and other losses caused by the war. The cost of the war to the South was greater in proportion than it was to the North; for in the South stores of cotton, crops, cattle, railroads, bridges, farm-houses, villages, and cities were destroyed. The loss to masters caused by the emancipation of slaves amounted to about \$2,000,000,000.

How the Expenses of the War Were Met. The expenses of the Union army were at times more than \$2,000,000 a day. How were such great expenses met? In the first place, taxes were made heavier. In 1861, even before the war ac-

tually began, Congress passed the Morrill Tariff Bill, which greatly increased the duties collected on imported goods. The high tariff was soon followed by an internal revenue law, which placed a heavy tax upon incomes and upon almost everything that men eat, drink, wear, or use. But the expenses of the war were so great that, no matter how heavily the taxes were laid on, enough money by taxation could not be raised. So the government had to adopt other means of raising revenue.

In 1862 Congress provided for the issuance of \$150,000,000 in United States notes — *greenbacks* they were called because of their color. These notes were simply paper money, but Congress declared them to be lawful money for the payment of all debts except duties upon imports and interest upon the public debt. The amount of this paper money was increased from time to time until it reached the sum of \$450,000,000. But large issues of paper money and heavy taxation combined could not supply the government with all the money it needed. So it was compelled to borrow large sums by issuing bonds. It began (July, 1861) by borrowing \$250,000,000, and by the time the war was over its debt amounted to more than \$2,500,000,000.

In order to aid the government still further in its financial plans, Congress in 1863 established a system of National Banks. Under the law of 1863 banking companies were allowed to deposit bonds of the United States with the Treasury Department at Washington and receive bank-notes equal to ninety per cent of the face value of the bonds. These bank-notes were issued in large amounts, and helped greatly in supplying the North with money.

The South found it very hard to raise money for the support of the war. It levied a tax on property and it borrowed money, but the sums that could be raised by taxation and by borrowing were not very great. The chief reliance of the South was upon the issuance of paper money. For a while this paper money circulated at its face value; but in 1863 it

began to fall in value. In March, 1865, sixty dollars of Confederate paper money was worth only one dollar in gold, and in the last days of the war the paper money of the South was worthless.

Keeping the Ranks Filled. Altogether the enlistments on both sides for the whole period of the war numbered about 3,000,000. At one time the troops of the Union army numbered about 900,000 men and the Confederate troops about 700,000 men. How were these great armies raised and how were the ranks kept filled? At first troops in the North and also in the South were secured by calling for 'volunteers. But before the war was over both sides resorted to the *draft*; that is, the War Department drew by lot the names of a number of persons equal to the number of soldiers required in a given locality and compelled the persons thus drafted to join the army, willing or unwilling. This method of enrolling men is called *conscription*.

In 1862 the Confederate Congress passed a conscription act, drafting all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Later all between eighteen and forty-five were drafted. In 1863 the North also brought the draft into use. In several places the draft was very unpopular and was forcibly resisted. In New York City, when officers undertook to enlist men by means of the draft, rioting began, and for four days the city was at the mercy of a mob. The number of soldiers raised by conscription for the Union army was very small when compared with the number of volunteers.

Women in the Civil War. Throughout the long struggle the women both in the North and in the South supported faithfully the men at the front, making sacrifices and rendering services that won the admiration of the world. Women took the place of men on the farms, in the factories, at the counter, and in the school-room. In hundreds of cities and towns there were soldiers' aid societies composed of women who knitted, rolled bandages and prepared necessities and gifts for the boys on the battle line. Thousands of women

went to the scene of war, where, serving as nurses, they risked their lives and endured the hardships of war. President Lincoln felt that he could not praise the war-work of the women too highly. "If all," he said, "that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war." The



Caring for the Sick Soldiers

The picture shows Mrs. Hayes, wife of President Hayes, active as a war nurse.

women of the South were as devoted as those of the North, and the praise due the Northern women for their sacrifices and deeds of mercy is due also to their Southern sisters.

Industry During the Civil War. We saw that at the end of the Fifties (p. 291) the country was in a highly prosperous condition. In the North and in the West this prosperity continued even during the years of the war. In 1864 a speaker in Illinois drew the following picture of war-time industry: "Look over these prairies and observe everywhere the life and activity prevailing. See the railroads pressed beyond their capacity with the freight; the metropolis of the State [Chicago] rearing its stately buildings with a rapidity almost fabulous; every smaller city, town, village, and hamlet

within our borders all astir with improvement; every factory, mill, and machine-shop running with its full complement of hands; the hum of industry in every household; fuller granaries, and more prolific crops than ever before."

But it was not thus in the South. Here business was almost at a standstill, because the blockade (p. 310) prevented the planters from selling their cotton to foreign countries. Swift vessels, however, often broke through the blockade, taking out cotton that had been reduced by powerful presses to the smallest possible bulk. The cotton was exchanged in England and France for the things that the South most needed — for munitions of war, blankets, shoes, tea, soap, linen, silk, and, above all, for medicines. Besides the blockade trade, there was also a brisk overland trade between the North and the South during the war. The mill-owners in the North were willing to pay almost any price for cotton, and, in one way and another, they managed to buy large quantities of it. At one time the South was selling more cotton to the North by the overland routes than it was selling to Great Britain by running the blockade.

Western Affairs during the War. Although the westward movement was checked during the war, it did not come to a complete standstill. In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Act, which practically gave settlers their land free of cost. Under the provisions of this famous law, any head of a family, whether native or foreign born, could, by the payment of a small fee, become the owner of eighty or one hundred and sixty acres of land simply by living upon the land for five years and cultivating it. In 1862, also, Congress gave charters to several companies for building great railroads across the continent. Two years later it further encouraged the development of the West by passing an immigration law that exempted immigrants from military service and provided means for assisting newly arrived foreigners to reach their destinations with as little trouble and expense as possible. These laws did much to encourage Western settlement even while the war was going on.

The discovery of new gold and silver-mines in the far Northwest during the war led to the settlement of that region. In 1863 Idaho was organized as a Territory, while Montana was made a Territory in 1864. In the same year Nevada (p. 290) was admitted to the Union. In 1863 Arizona was separated from New Mexico and made a Territory.

Politics in War-Time. During the years of the Civil War the minds of men, both in the North and in the South, were



Union and Confederate Soldiers Sharing Their Rations During a Truce fixed upon the struggle that was raging. People were all the time asking: "How is the war progressing? Is it being managed well or ill? Will the North win or will the South win?" Political questions, therefore, in those exciting times related chiefly to the war.

In the South the management of the war rested upon the shoulders of Jefferson Davis. In the discharge of his duties Davis displayed great ability as a leader, although at times he acted in an arbitrary manner and was often called a tyrant. Upon the whole, the administration of Davis pleased the people of the South and they gave him their loyalty and support.

In the North the burden of the war rested upon President

Lincoln. The great man attended to his duties with devotion and untiring patience, but he was not always supported as loyally as he should have been. Throughout the war he had trouble with a class called "Copperheads"—men who did not believe that the South could be conquered and who were for peace at almost any price. But Lincoln knew that he could not make peace with the South unless he acknowledged the independence of the Confederate States. "We are not fighting for slavery," said Davis in 1864; "we are fighting for independence." Lincoln did not believe the people of the North were willing to sacrifice the Union for the sake of peace. So he refused to listen to the Copperheads and went on with the war.

Lincoln, like Davis, often acted in an arbitrary manner, and like Davis he was often called a tyrant. He sometimes did things that were not strictly in accordance with the Constitution. When he went contrary to the strict letter of the law he did so, he said, to save the nation. He felt that if he saved the nation he would save the Constitution with it, but that if the nation was lost the Constitution also would be lost. "Often a limb," he said, "must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb."

Although Lincoln had many enemies, and although there was much dissatisfaction with his management of the war, he was nevertheless reelected in 1864 for a second term. At the same election Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was elected Vice-President. The platform upon which Lincoln went before the people declared that the war must be carried on to the bitter end, and called for an amendment to the Constitution that should prohibit slavery. So when Lincoln entered upon his second term (March 4, 1865) he was pledged to do two things: to fight the war until victory was won, and to try to bring about the abolition of slavery throughout the entire United States. He was not compelled to fight much longer; for, as we have already learned, within a few weeks after his second inauguration the South laid down its arms.

Death of Lincoln. Nor was the great President allowed

to go on with his plans for bringing about the abolition of slavery. For no sooner had the country begun to rejoice that the war was over and that "a healing time of peace" was at hand than it was plunged into gloom by the occurrence of an awful tragedy. On April 14, 1865, precisely four years after the fall of Fort Sumter and five days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, President Lincoln, while sitting in his box in a theater in Washington, was shot in the head by a man who, in his sympathy for the South, had become a fanatic because the South had failed to win. Lincoln fell forward unconscious when he was shot, and never regained consciousness. He sank rapidly, and on the morning of April 15 he died.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What was the cost of the Civil War in human life? What was the cost in money?
2. Give a full account of the manner in which the expenses of the war were met.
3. How were the armies raised and how were the ranks kept filled?
4. What was the condition of industry at the North during the war? What was the condition of industry at the South? Give an account of blockade-running.
5. What progress was made in the development of the West during the war?
6. Describe the political situation during the war. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1864.
7. Give an account of Lincoln's death.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1643, 1763, 1789, 1820, 1860, 1863, 1865 (2).
2. Persons: Champlain, Hudson, Roger Williams, Washington, Franklin, Braddock, Wolfe, Hamilton, W. H. Harrison, Lincoln, Grant.
3. Tell what you can about: the Patroons; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Wars since 1789; The Westward Movement; Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Manufactures; Commerce.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Trials and Results of the War: Eggleston, 346-352.
 - (2) Read E. D. Fite's Industrial History of the Civil War.
 - (3) Women's Work in the Civil War: Bruce, 188-227.

XLVII

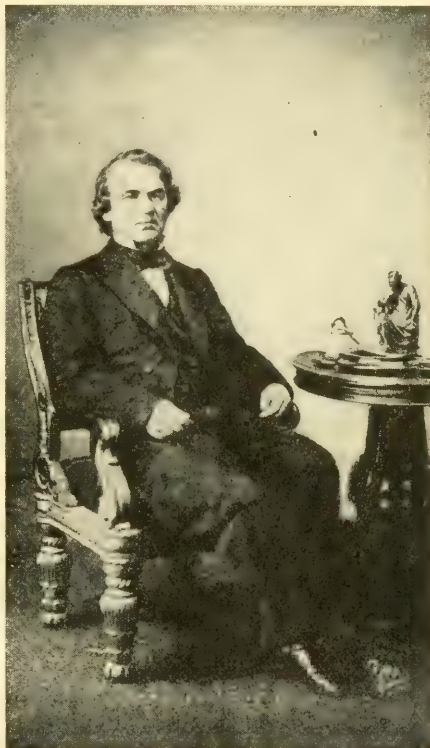
BINDING UP THE NATION'S WOUNDS

In his second Inaugural Address President Lincoln said: "Let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds." How were the wounds made by the war bound up? How was the question of slavery solved? How were the seceding States treated?

Andrew Johnson. Three hours after Lincoln's death the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, was sworn in as President. In many respects the life of Johnson was a counterpart of the life of Lincoln. His childhood was spent in poverty. At a very early age he was compelled to earn his own bread. He taught himself the art of reading. He did not learn to write until after his marriage, when he was taught by his wife. He was always a Democrat in politics, but in 1864 he was placed on the Republican ticket as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. He had many of the noble qualities of Lincoln; he was honest and fearless and firm. But he lacked Lincoln's calmness of judgment and kindliness of heart.

Work of Reconstruction. The task that faced Johnson and the Congress in 1865 was almost as difficult as the task that faced Lincoln and the Congress four years before. In 1861 a Union was to be saved; in 1865 a Union was to be reconstructed. In the work of reconstruction three great questions had to be settled: (1) What should be done with the leaders who had taken up arms against the Union? (2) What should be done with the negroes of the South? (3) What should be done with the seceded States?

(1) Johnson regarded the leaders of the Confederacy as traitors, and he wished them to be punished severely. But Lincoln, at a cabinet meeting on the last afternoon of his life, had advised against harsh measures. "I hope," he said, "there will be no persecution, no bloody work after this war is over. No one need expect me to take any part in hanging or killing those men [the Confederate leaders], even the worst of them. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union." The mild policy of Lincoln was carried out. There was no bloody work, no vengeance. Even Davis, the leader and President of the Confederacy, was never brought to trial. On May 29, 1865, amnesty and pardon were offered to all who had been in arms against the Union, provided they would take oath that they would henceforth support and defend the Constitution of the



Andrew Johnson

Born in North Carolina, in 1808; governor of Tennessee; Vice-President, 1865; succeeded Lincoln as seventeenth President, 1865-69; died in 1875.

United States and abide by the laws made with reference to the emancipation of slaves. There were some excepted classes, it is true, but, speaking broadly, pardon was placed within easy reach of all who had joined the Confederacy.

(2) In dealing with the negro question Congress first sent

out (February, 1865) to the States, for their ratification, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery entirely in the United States. By December, 1865, this amendment had been ratified by twenty-seven States and was the law of the land. Thus three and a half million persons were transformed from a condition of slavery to a condition of freedom. Of course the freedmen at first hardly knew what liberty was. At the close of the war William Lloyd Garrison (p. 268) visited Charleston, South Carolina, where he met a crowd of negroes just set free. "Well, my friends," he said to them, "you are free at last; let us give three cheers for freedom!" And he undertook to lead the cheering. But he cheered alone. The poor creatures gave no response; they merely looked at him in wonderment. They knew nothing about cheering, nothing about freedom.

In March, 1865, Congress established a Freedmen's Bureau, which was to look after the interests of former slaves and protect them from injustice at the hands of the white men. This bureau assigned abandoned lands to freedmen; it did what it could to improve the morals of the freedmen; it took care that the negro laborer should receive something like a fair compensation for his labor.

In 1866 it was thought that the South was not giving the negro all the rights a freedman ought to have. So Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill, which declared the freedmen to be citizens of the United States and guaranteed to them the same civil rights as those enjoyed by white citizens. Since this law might be repealed by a succeeding Congress, a Fourteenth Amendment was sent out to the States to be ratified. This amendment guaranteed equal civil rights to all citizens, regardless of race or color, and provided that the representation of a State in Congress should be based on population. But the amendment declared that if in any State the right to vote was withheld from any male adult citizens, the number of Representatives in that State would be reduced in proportion. This meant that if the negroes in any State were not allowed to vote, the number of Representatives in that

State should be reduced in proportion to the number of negroes who were denied the suffrage. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified by a sufficient number of States, and thus (in 1868) became a law that Congress could not repeal.

It was desired by the leaders in Congress that the negroes be allowed to vote, whether the Southern States wished them to do so or not. So Congress submitted to the States the Fifteenth Amendment, which guarantees that a citizen shall not be denied the right to vote on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This amendment was adopted in 1870, and was the last of the great measures brought forward to help the freedmen.

(3) While it was dealing with the negro question, Congress was at the same time dealing with the seceded States. Everybody wished these States to come back into the Union; but Congress refused to restore a State to its old place in the Union unless it would first comply with certain conditions. During the time a State was making up its mind whether it would comply with the conditions or not, it was ruled by a military governor appointed by the President. The conditions imposed upon a State were:

(1) It must agree to the complete abolition of slavery.

(2) It must ratify the Fourteenth Amendment.

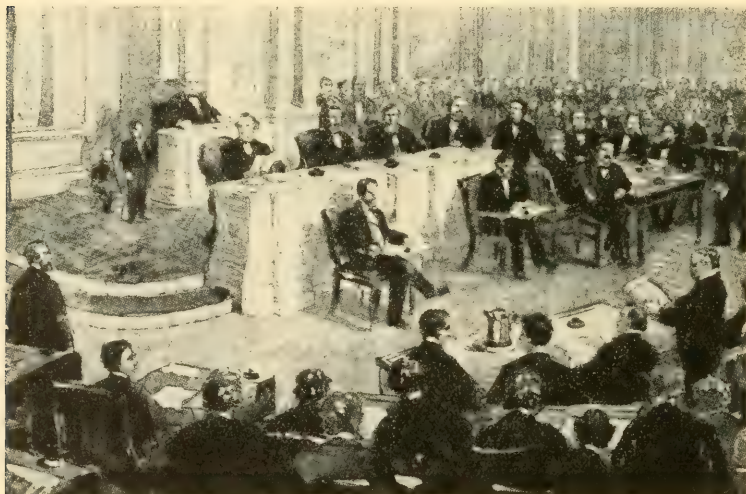
(3) It must agree not to pay off any of the debts contracted by the Confederates.

One by one, the seceded States agreed to the conditions laid down by Congress, and by 1871 all were back in the Union and all were enjoying equal rights with the other States. When the work of reconstruction was finished we had an "indestructible Union of indestructible States."

Impeachment of Andrew Johnson. While the work of reconstruction was going on, a serious quarrel arose between President Johnson and Congress. Johnson held the opinion that the Civil War was only an ordinary uprising of citizens against the government, and that when the war was ended all that was necessary to be done was to punish the leaders of the uprising. The States, he contended, had never been out of

the Union and had never lost any of their rights, and he was stoutly opposed to any action that interfered with the rights of a State. On this ground he vetoed the bill creating the Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil Rights Bill. Congress, however, passed both measures over his head.

By 1867 the quarrel between Johnson and Congress had become very bitter, and Congress in that year, in order to hamper Johnson, passed the Tenure of Office Act, which provided that the President should not remove any public officer without the consent of the Senate. Johnson denied the right of Congress to make such a law, and he very soon disobeyed it. This led (February, 1868) to his impeachment. In the House of Representatives he was impeached (accused) of high crimes and misdemeanors. The impeachment (accusation) was tried in the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is necessary to convict. The trial lasted two months, and when the vote was taken thirty-five Senators voted "Guilty" and nineteen "Not guilty." With one more vote against him, Johnson would have been convicted and removed from office. As it was, he escaped conviction and remained in the Presidency until the end of his term (March 4, 1869).



The Impeachment Trial of Andrew Johnson

The French in Mexico (1861-67). During this period of reconstruction our government found it necessary to intervene in the affairs of Mexico. In 1861 France, England, and Spain, acting together, sent an armed force to Mexico to hold her seaports until certain debts were paid. But England and Spain soon withdrew their troops, leaving France to act alone. The Emperor of France, Napoleon III, desired to establish the French power in Mexico. He accordingly overthrew the Mexican government and made Maximilian, a brother of the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Mexico. All this, you will observe, was contrary to the Monroe Doctrine (p. 222). Still, at the time, the United States could do nothing but protest, for it had the Civil War on its hands. As soon as the war was over, however, General Sheridan, with a large army, was despatched to the Mexican frontier. France saw what was coming, and the French troops were at once withdrawn (in 1867) from Mexico. Maximilian fell into the hands of the Mexicans, and was promptly shot.

Purchase of Alaska. Another important event of the reconstruction period was the purchase of Alaska, which then be-



Ulysses S. Grant

Born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, in 1822; eighteenth President, 1869-77; died at Mount McGregor, New York, in 1885.

longed to Russia. Just about the time the French troops were leaving Mexico, the Russian minister at Washington offered to sell to the United States Russia's possessions in America for the sum of \$7,200,000. The offer was accepted "with almost comical alacrity," and an area of 577,000 square miles was added to our territory. At the time it was thought by



Alaska Compared with the United States

If Alaska were placed in the United States, the northern boundary touching Canada, the south-east corner would reach the Atlantic Ocean, and its islands would reach the Pacific.

many that we had made a bad bargain, but in fact we made a very good bargain, for the furs, fisheries, gold-fields, and coal-lands of Alaska are worth the purchase price a thousand times over.

President Grant and Reconstruction. By this time a Presidential election was drawing near. Who was to be elected in 1868 as the successor of President Johnson? The Republicans in that year nominated as their candidate the man who, next to Lincoln, had done most in the Civil War to bring success to the Union—General U. S. Grant. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York. The election gave Grant 214 electoral votes and Seymour 80. Four





years later Grant was reëlected over Horace Greeley, of New York, by an electoral vote of 286 to 63.

General Grant in his Inaugural Address (March 4, 1869) let it be known that he desired to deal kindly with the Southern people, so that the wounds caused by the war might be quickly healed. He took as his motto, "Let us have peace." During his first term the last of the great reconstruction measures was passed (in 1872). This was the Amnesty Act, which removed the political disabilities of large classes of persons who, if the law had not been passed, would have been prevented by the Fourteenth Amendment from holding office because they had fought on the side of the South. This law did much to heal the nation's wounds, for it pardoned nearly 150,000 of the best citizens of the South and allowed them to hold office and have a share in public affairs.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give a sketch of the life and character of Andrew Johnson.
2. In the work of reconstruction what was done with those who had taken up arms against the Union? What was the Thirteenth Amendment? What was the Freedmen's Bureau? The Civil Rights Bill? The Fourteenth Amendment? The Fifteenth Amendment? With what conditions did the seceded States have to comply before they were restored to the Union?
3. Why was Johnson impeached? What was the result of his impeachment?
4. Give an account of the French occupation of Mexico and of the withdrawal of the French.
5. Give an account of the purchase of Alaska.
6. Give an account of the election of 1868. What was the Amnesty Act of 1872?

REVIEW AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1620, 1812, 1846, 1850, 1862, 1865 (2).
2. Persons: John Winthrop, Daniel Boone, John Adams, Eli Whitney, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Davis, Johnson.
3. Reviews of Great Subjects: Foreign Relations since 1789; Nullification and Secession; Slavery; English Colonization.
4. Reading References:
 - (1) Condition of the South (1865): Hart, 336-339.
 - (2) Social Conditions during Reconstruction: McLaughlin, 320-322.

XLVIII

STARTING ANEW

While our statesmen were binding up the nation's wounds, while they were dealing with the slavery question and bringing the seceding States back into the Union, business men and workingmen were striving with might and main to develop our industries and place the country again on the highroad of progress. For at the close of the Civil War there was reconstruction work to be done in the industrial world as well as in the political world. In fact, as soon as the war was over the United States entered upon a new life.

The South at the Close of the Civil War. The war left the South in a deplorable condition. Immense districts had suffered from the ravages of contending armies. The planters were poor and deeply in debt. Their fields were neglected and untilled. Their dwellings were out of repair and their empty barns were falling down. Worse than all, their labor system was completely destroyed. Their former slaves, of course, could not be compelled to work, and they were not disposed to work of their own free will. For the slave thought that slavery meant only toil, and after he was set free he thought that freedom meant only idleness. Moreover, the Southern people, as we shall presently learn, suffered greatly during the reconstruction period because government was so bad and corrupt. Indeed, it seemed that the burdens of the South were more than she could bear. Yet, crushed and defeated as she was, she rallied and lifted herself from her fallen condition.

The North after the Civil War. Far different from the conditions that confronted the people of the South were those which prevailed in the North. There the Civil War left in its

wake no serious problems of reconstruction. The soil of the Northern States had hardly been touched by invading armies, and the industries of the North were in as healthy a condition at the close of the war as they were at its beginning. In truth, the North was as rich and was standing as firmly on its feet in 1865 as it had been in 1861.

The New West. When the new start on the road of progress was taken, countless faces were turned to the great West, where across the Mississippi there lay a wild, uncultivated region more than a million of square miles in extent. Many things worked together to build up the West at this time. The Homestead Act (p. 340) was giving settlers their land for a song. Immigrants, encouraged by a favorable law, were now coming to America every year by the hundreds of thousands. Nearly a million came in the four years following the war. Great numbers of these foreigners, Irish and Germans and Scandinavians, pushed out into the West, far beyond the Mississippi. Then, the mustering out of the Union troops at the close of the war resulted in a gain to the westward movement. Between May, 1865, and June, 1866, nearly a million soldiers laid down their arms and took up peaceful occupations. Great numbers of these disbanded men went straight to the West to try their fortunes.

The thing that marked out the path of Western development at this time was the railroad. You remember that during the war plans were made for building railroads clear across the country (p. 340). The first of the transcontinental railroads to be constructed was the Union Pacific. To encourage the building of this road, Congress granted to the companies that were to construct it, about 33,000,000 acres of the public lands, an area much larger than the entire State of Pennsylvania. The road was built by two companies, one of which worked from Omaha westward and the other from Sacramento eastward. The two lines met at Ogden, Utah, May 10, 1869, where two men with silver hammers drove the last spikes, two of gold and two of silver, into the last tie.

The benefits of the Union Pacific were felt along the whole length of the line. With the completion of the road Nebraska (p. 289) was connected with the markets of the world, and her development proceeded at a rapid pace. In 1867 she was admitted to the Union, and in a few years she was taking her place as one of the great grain-growing States. Wyoming practically owes her existence to a railroad. In 1867 the Union Pacific laid out the town of Cheyenne, and



A Union Pacific Train in 1870

the next year the Territory of Wyoming was created by Congress. Colorado (p. 289) also felt the benefits of the Union Pacific. In 1870 Denver was connected by a railroad with the Union Pacific, and six years later Colorado was admitted as the "Centennial State."

The growth of the new Northwest, the region extending from Minnesota to the Pacific, was also hastened by the building of a railroad. In 1864 Congress chartered the Northern Pacific, granting it nearly 45,000,000 acres of the public lands lying along its route. The road, therefore, received a gift of land whose area was greater than that of all New England. The Northern Pacific was to connect Duluth on Lake Superior with Portland, Oregon, and with Tacoma and Seattle on Puget Sound. By 1876 the road had been built

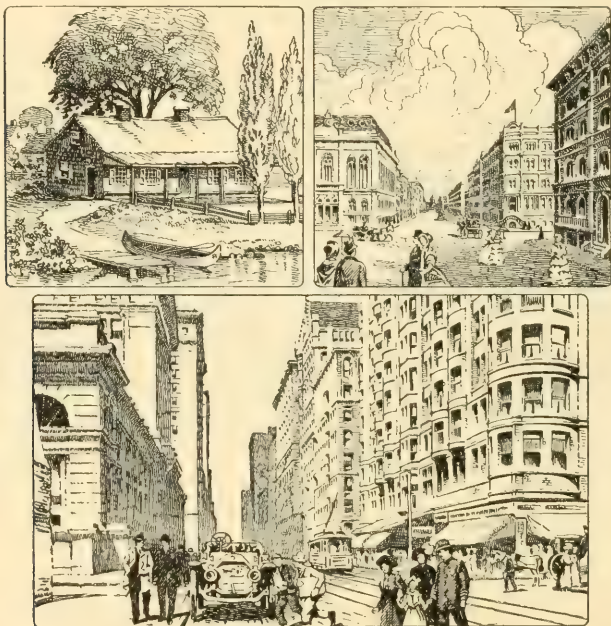
westward as far as Bismarck, and was changing the country through which it passed from a state of savagery to a state of civilization.

The presence of the white men in the new Northwest was bitterly resented by the Indians. The national government was following the policy of allotting to the Indian tribes certain tracts of lands known as "reservations," on which the red men alone might live. But the Indians would not remain on their reservations, and they often murdered white settlers. They were especially troublesome to the workmen who built the Northern Pacific. In 1876 United States troops were sent against the Indians to subdue them and bring them to terms. Before they were subdued, however, they dealt our troops a terrible blow. A large force of Sioux Indians in southern Montana suddenly surrounded a division of 260 men under General George Custer, and killed every man, including the brave Custer himself.

Good Times. The opening of the West led to such an extension of our farming lands that in a few years the number of farms was doubled and we were producing nearly one third of all the grain in the world. Manufacturing also took on new life after the war and flourished as never before. There were enough reasons why it should flourish. The growing West was calling for the manufactures of the East. The South also was renewing its orders for the manufactures of the North. Then the manufacturer was helped by the Morrill Tariff Act, which was passed during the war (p. 337) and which was in force for many years. The duties imposed by this tariff were so high that they kept some classes of foreign goods out of the American market altogether.

Such favorable circumstances were bound to bring good times. In five years after the war closed more cotton-spindles were put in operation, more iron-furnaces were erected, more coal and copper were mined, more lumber was sawed and hewn, more manufactures of different kinds were started than during any equal period in the history of our country.

Disaster and Hard Times. But this wonderful prosperity did not last. Good times were followed by disaster and hard times. In 1871 occurred the great Chicago fire. The fire broke out in a barn, and spread with such rapidity that it soon got beyond the control of the firemen. It raged for two



Three Views of Chicago

days, destroying 17,000 buildings and causing 200 deaths. Seventy thousand persons were rendered homeless and the property loss was nearly \$200,000,000. Within a year the burned district, covering over 2000 acres, was largely rebuilt, and within two years there was a new Chicago. In 1872 Boston also was visited by a disastrous fire.

Just after these great fires there followed a period of hard times known as the panic of 1873. The beginning of the panic was in the autumn of 1873, when the great banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., in Philadelphia, failed to meet its

obligations. After this failure money was hard to get, men were thrown out of employment, and there was suffering in all parts of the country.

Unrest Among the People. The panic of 1873 led to much trouble among workingmen, for during the hard times the wages of employees were reduced. But the laboring men were now organized into unions, and in many cases they would not consent to a reduction in their wages. In 1877 the employees on some of the great railroads refused to work, and during the strike blood was shed and property was destroyed. In Baltimore and in Pittsburgh there was fighting between the strikers and soldiers and a number of lives were lost.

The railroads at the time were having trouble with shippers as well as with their employees. In the Middle West the farmers were compelled to pay the railroads a higher rate for the shipment of their grain than they thought was just. So in order to protect themselves they formed an organization called the Patrons of Husbandry, each local society of the organization being known as a *grange*. By 1876 their granges numbered 10,000 and their membership nearly 1,500,000. In Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and Wisconsin, the Grangers — as the Patrons were usually called — were successful in securing from the State legislatures laws fixing the rates the railroads might charge. But the railroad owners contended that their business was a private one, and that a legislature could no more fix the rate that a railroad might charge than it could fix the price at which a grocer might sell cheese. The railroad owners carried their case to the courts, and in 1877 the Supreme Court of the United States decided against them, declaring that the State legislature had the right to fix the rates. Thus the Grangers took the first step in a movement which was to grow stronger and stronger and one day was to bring all the railroads under the complete control of the government.

“Carpet-Baggers”; the Ku-Klux Klan. The troublous times in the North were matched by an even worse condition of affairs in the South. During several years of Grant’s

administration the South was overrun with dishonest adventurers who came from the North and who received the name of "carpet-baggers" because it was said that they brought with them from the North nothing but traveling-satchels made of carpet. These carpet-baggers, by playing upon the prejudices of the freedmen and taking advantage of their ignorance, secured their votes, and in several States gained control of the government.

Where the carpet-baggers were most successful, as in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, public affairs were managed in a most shameful and corrupt manner. In Alabama in one county the clerk was a horse-thief and the sheriff a negro who could not read. In the legislature the negro members were so ignorant that they could only watch their white leaders — carpet-baggers — and vote aye or no as they were told. In South Carolina the corruption under "carpet-bag" rule was shocking in the extreme. In the legislature \$200,000 was spent for furniture and \$150,000 for printing. The most expensive wines, liquors, and cigars were ordered to be sent to the boarding-houses of the members, most of whom were negroes who had been slaves.

To protect themselves against the rule of the negroes and the carpet-baggers, the whites organized a secret society known as the Ku-Klux Klan. The members of this society did all they could to prevent the negro from voting and to make the life of the carpet-bagger miserable. In carrying out its purposes the Ku-Klux Klan committed many outrages, and in 1871 Congress caused the society to be suppressed and many of its members arrested.

Wrong-Doing in High Places. It was not only in the South that there was wrong-doing in matters of government during those years. About the time the carpet-baggers were robbing the taxpayers of the South, a gang of dishonest politicians led by William M. Tweed were robbing the taxpayers of New York City. One of the tricks employed by Tweed and his companions was to pay those who had bills

against the city sums of money vastly greater than were really due them. For example, if a man had a bill against the city for \$5,000, he was paid \$55,000. Of this sum the man presenting the bill received \$5,000, while Tweed and his gang received the remaining \$50,000. After Tweed had stolen from the city many millions of dollars, he was arrested and thrown into prison.

Wrong-doing at the time was so widespread that even members of Congress were accused of dishonest conduct. In 1876, one of the members of President Grant's cabinet was impeached for accepting bribes. The most disgraceful affair was the fraud committed by the Whisky Ring, a group of distillers and officers of the national government. These men, working together, put into their pockets nearly \$3,000,000 that ought to have been paid into the treasury of the United States.

Centennial Exposition. About the time President Grant was being so much troubled with corrupt officials, he was called upon to perform a more cheerful and agreeable task. This was to open the Centennial Exposition, which was held at Philadelphia in 1876 for the purpose of celebrating the Centennial of American Independence. The Exposition revealed the wonderful resources of our own country and furnished other nations an opportunity to exhibit their products. Forty of the great governments of the world took part in the display.

Election of 1876; The Electoral Commission. While the great Exposition at Philadelphia was in progress the politicians were preparing for another election. Since there was a great deal of wrong-doing among public officials in Grant's administration, it seemed that by 1876 the country was ready to turn the Republicans out of power. In the Presidential campaign that year the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York. The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio.

Tilden received the largest popular vote, but there were



Centennial Exposition Building

only 184 electoral votes that were certainly his, and he needed 185. The electoral votes of South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Oregon were in doubt. If Hayes could secure *all* the electoral votes of *all* these States, he would be elected; if Tilden could secure only *one* electoral vote in any *one* of these States, he would be elected. In each of the four doubtful States both parties claimed the victory. There was much excitement, and serious trouble was threatened.

To settle the difficulty Congress referred the matter to what was called the Electoral Commission, a body composed of five members of the House of Representatives, five Senators, and five associate justices of the United States Supreme Court — fifteen members in all. This Commission, by a vote of eight to seven, decided that all the electoral votes of all the doubtful States belonged to Hayes. So Mr. Hayes was declared elected, and was inaugurated March 4, 1877.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the condition of the South at the close of the war; the condition of the North.
2. What things worked together to build up the West just after the war? Give an account of the Western development at this time.
3. Give an account of the prosperity of the country at this time.
4. Describe the great fires and give an account of the panic of 1873.
5. Give an account of the unrest among the people. Tell the story of the Grangers.
6. Describe the misrule in the South.
7. Give an account of the wrong-doings in high places.
8. Give an account of the Centennial Exposition.
9. Tell the story of the election of 1876.

REVIEW AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1803, 1860, 1861, 1863, 1865.
2. Persons: Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Samuel Adams, Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Fillmore, Johnson.
3. Tell what you can about: the Louisiana Purchase; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the Work of Reconstruction; the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Expansion; Means of Communication; Indians and Indian Wars.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) The Ku-Klux Klan: A United People, 16-26.
 - (2) The Tweed Ring: Hart, 352-355.
 - (3) Read in the class: Centennial Year: Hart, 358-360; also Centennial Hymn: A United People, 2.
 - (4) The Age of Railways: Schafer, 230-245.
 - (5) Denver: Hotchkiss, 44-56.
 - (6) Read in the class: The Chicago Fire: Lane and Hill, 158-160.
 - (7) Custer's Last Battle: A United People, 64-70.

XLIX

PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS

When Mr. Hayes began his duties as President (March 4, 1877) the nation was recovering from the bad effects of the Civil War and was entering upon a period of prosperity and growth such as Americans had never known before. In this chapter the story of this wonderful growth will be carried through the years in which Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur were at the head of our government, and an account of the administration of these three Presidents will be given.

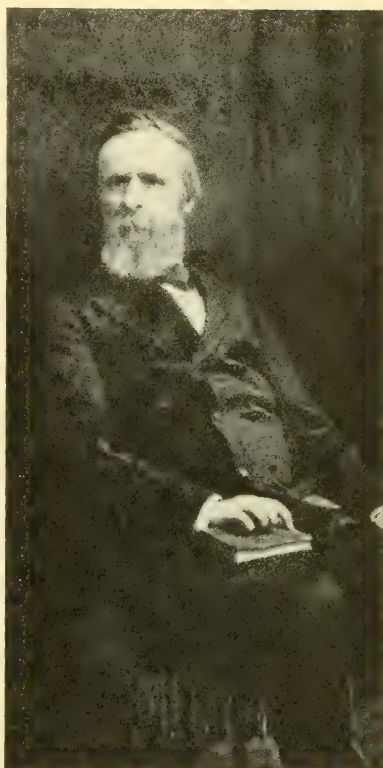
Removal of Troops from the South. It will be remembered that during reconstruction times the Southern States were placed under military rule, being governed by officers and troops of the United States army (p. 347). One of the first acts of President Hayes was to withdraw (April 9, 1878) from the South the last of the troops of the regular army. The removal of the soldiers marked the end of the reconstruction period and was the beginning of better days for the South. The corrupt carpet-bag governments were now speedily overthrown and the Southern people again assumed control of their own affairs.

With the removal of the troops the feeling of bitterness between the North and the South began to pass away. In September, 1877, President Hayes made a trip through the South and was kindly received. Leaders of the former Confederacy were also kindly received in the North. In the cemeteries, North and South, flowers began to be placed upon the graves of both Union and Confederate soldiers.

Election of President Garfield. At the end of his term President Hayes was not a candidate for re-election. In the

Presidential election of 1880 the Republicans nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio for President and Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania. Garfield received the majority of the electoral votes, although Hancock polled a popular vote almost as large as that of his successful rival.

Death of Garfield; President Arthur. President Garfield had hardly entered upon his duties as President when he was made the victim of an assassin's bullet. On July 2, 1881, while in the railroad station at Washington, he was shot in the back by a disappointed office-seeker. The wounded President made a brave fight for his life, but he slowly succumbed and on September 19 he passed away.



Rutherford B. Hayes

Born in Ohio, in 1822; served in the Union army in the Civil War; member of Congress; governor of Ohio; nineteenth President, 1877-81; died in 1893.

On the day after Garfield's death Vice-President Arthur, at his home in New York, took the oath of office as President. Little was known of the character of the new President or of his fitness for his great duties, and there were some fears lest he might not prove to be the right man in the right place. These fears, however, were groundless; for President Arthur performed the duties of his office in a conscientious manner and with ability and dignity.

The Merit System. President Jackson set the example of rewarding his political friends by giving them offices without regard to fitness (p. 229). The example of Jackson was quite faithfully followed by the Presidents who came after him, and it soon became a fixed custom for a new administration to turn out the old office-holders and appoint new ones in their places.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood
James A. Garfield

Born in Ohio, in 1831; served in the Union army during the Civil War, becoming major-general; member of Congress and of the Senate; became twentieth President in 1881; was shot on July 2, 1881, and died September 19 following.

Grant did not like the custom. "The present system," he said, "does not secure the best men, and often not even fit men, for public places." To remedy the evils of the "spoils system," Congress, in 1883, passed a law providing for a *Civil Service Commission*, whose chief duty was to hold examinations and ascertain which applicants were best fitted for office. Those who passed the best examinations were to receive the appointments. Under this law the spoils system has in a large measure been abandoned and the merit system established.

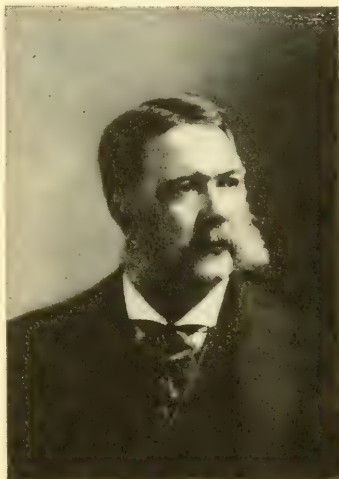
The New South. During the administrations of Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur—that is, between 1877 and 1885—

the forces of industry were hard at work in all parts of the land. In no section were they working harder than in the South. We have already learned how bravely the Southern people

rallied at the close of the war (p. 352). They went about repairing their fortunes in such earnest fashion that in a few years they had created a new South. In 1884, when a great cotton exposition was held in New Orleans, it was shown that the South was raising more cotton than ever before. And the South by this time was beginning to work on a large scale her rich mines of coal and iron, a thing she had never done before. For before the war she relied almost wholly upon farming and the only crop she cared to raise was cotton. Now she was engaging not only in farming, but in mining and in manufacturing as well. She was converting her ores into iron, and soon the products of the iron and steel-mills of Alabama and Tennessee were competing in the market with the mills of the North. She was not only raising cotton in enormous quantities but she was manufacturing the cotton into cloth.

Before the war there was very little spinning and weaving in the Southern States, but by 1885 mill towns were springing up in so many parts of the South that it was plain that the effects of the Industrial Revolution were being felt in the Southland. In this development of the new South the negroes were doing their part, and were rendering better service than they had rendered in the days of their bondage. "We have found out," said a distinguished Southerner (Henry W. Grady) in 1886, "that in the general summing up the free negro counts for more than he did as a slave."

Great Inventions. It was during these years (1877-1885)



Photograph by Brown Brothers

Chester A. Arthur

Born in Vermont, in 1830; was collector of the port of New York, 1871-78; became Vice-President in 1880, and upon the death of Garfield succeeded him as twenty-first President, 1881-85; died in 1886.

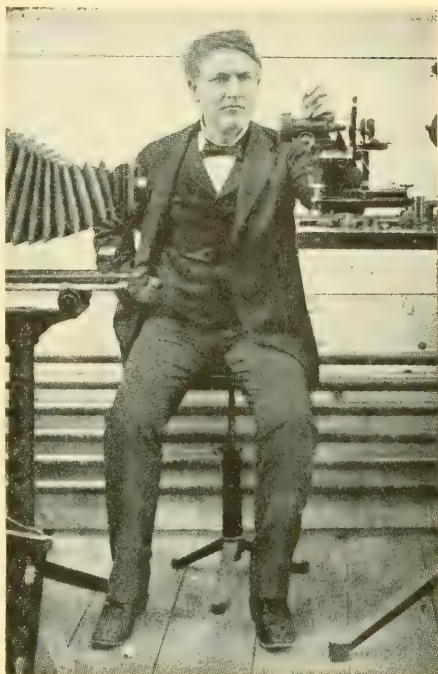
that a number of most remarkable inventions began to be brought into general use. Of these many were of great benefit to the farmer. The gang-plow — a series of several plows joined together and mounted on wheels and drawn by the power of steam — was taking the place of the plow that was drawn by horses and that turned but a single furrow. The early reaper (p. 261) which simply cut the grain was being replaced by the self-binder which both cut the grain and bound it into sheaves. And the self-binder was soon followed by the complete harvester, which cut the grain, threshed it, and put it into sacks.

Inventions at this time were also making great changes in railroad matters. Manufacturers were using the Bessemer process of making steel, and were turning out steel rails for railroads and constructing steel boilers for locomotives. For a long time we had been importing steel rails and locomotives from England, but now we began to make our own. Before many years passed we were exporting hundreds of locomotives and thousands of tons of steel rails.

With the coming of steel rails it was possible to build locomotives that would draw larger trains, and on steel rails the trains could be run at higher speed. But the heavy fast running trains could not be quickly stopped by the simple hand-brake that was used; so George Westinghouse invented an airbrake powerful enough to stop the trains promptly.

It was at this time that electricity began to be brought into use for doing things that it had never done before. In 1882 Thomas A. Edison, of Menlo Park, New Jersey, showed that a car could be operated by electricity. Three years later street cars began to take their power from overhead wires charged with an electric current, and the day of the trolley-car was at hand. But the trolley-car was only one of the many wonderful electrical inventions that appeared at this time. Charles F. Brush of Cleveland invented an arc-light made by passing a powerful current of electricity between two carbon points. This gave as much light as a hundred

gas-jets. The arc-light was excellent for lighting streets, but was not suitable for use within doors. Soon Edison came forward (in 1880) with an incandescent electric light that could be used indoors as well as out, and which, at the pressure of a button, could fill a house with a light that rivals the light of day. About this time, too, the Wizard of Menlo Park, as Edison was called, invented (1878) a talking-machine called a phonograph, and from this invention came the



Thomas A. Edison

victrolas, graphophones, and æolians that we find to-day in millions of homes. But the most wonderful invention of the period was a machine that would carry the human voice. This was the telephone invented by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876. At first the new invention was only a toy and would operate at only short distances. But improvements were made and the distances became greater. The telephone grew rapidly into favor and in a short time it was used more than the telegraph.

Progress in Commerce and Industry. How fast we were going forward during these years in matters of commerce and industry is shown in the Table of Progress given on next page. Study the table carefully and you will be able to form a clear idea of the marvelous progress we were making in the days of Hayes and Garfield and Arthur.

TABLE OF PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN
1870 AND 1890

	1870	1880	1890
Farms and farm prop- erty	\$ 8,900,000,000	\$12,180,000,000	\$16,082,000,000
Farm products	1,950,000,000	2,212,000,000	2,400,000,000
Products of manu- facturing	4,232,000,000	5,309,000,000	9,372,000,000
Number of persons employed in manu- factures	2,000,000	2,750,000	4,000,000
Imports of merchan- dise	436,000,000	668,000,000	789,000,000
Exports of merchan- dise	392,000,000	835,000,000	837,000,000
Miles of railroad...	53,000	93,000	167,000
Total wealth	\$30,000,000,000	\$43,000,000,000	\$65,000,000,000
Total population	38,500,000	50,000,000	63,000,000
Population of cities.	8,000,000	11,300,000	18,200,000
Pupils enrolled in public schools	7,000,000	10,000,000	13,000,000

The Rising Tide of Immigration. You observe that the Table shows an enormous increase in population. Much of this increase was due to immigration. For at this period foreigners came to our shores in greater numbers than ever before. In the Seventies nearly 3,000,000 came and in the Eighties more than 5,000,000. There was reason for their coming, for in the East there was plenty of work and in the West there was plenty of cheap land. Large numbers of the new-comers remained in the East where there was a demand for their labor in the mines and shops. But large numbers who had been peasants in Europe desired to be farmers in America. These made their way to the West and settled down on farms. Thousands of Swedes and Norwegians went to the Northwest and helped to build up Minnesota and Dakota.

Millions of the foreigners who were now pouring into the country were intelligent, able bodied toilers and America

needed their brains and their labor. But among the newcomers were many undesirable persons to whom the hand of welcome could not be extended. The undesirable class became so large that Congress decided that it was necessary to shut the door upon immigrants whose presence in America would bring more harm than good. In 1882 it passed a law excluding Chinese laborers from the United States. In the same year Congress ordered that the character of immigrants be looked into and if it were found that an incoming foreigner was an ex-convict, or a lunatic, or that he was a person that was not able to take care of himself, he must be sent back to the country from which he came. Three years later Congress passed the Alien Contract Labor Law. This provided that any person brought to the United States under a contract to perform labor here could be sent back at the expense of the vessel bringing him. Thus in the Eighties Congress began the policy of checking immigration, its purpose being to keep out undesirable foreigners and to let in those whose presence would be beneficial to the nation.

Progress in Education and in Literature. In the Table of Progress given you observe that by 1880 ten millions of pupils were attending our public schools and that the attendance was increasing at a rapid rate. The foundations of our school system which were laid before the Civil War (p. 265) were made broader and deeper after the war, and by the end of the period which we are now studying there were in every State public schools free to all children, both black and white. By this time there was in almost every State a system of excellent high schools. Moreover, colleges and universities were now increasing in number and were receiving from our rich men vast sums of money in the form of gifts. Among the most prominent of the colleges and universities founded about this time were Smith, Wellesley, Johns Hopkins, Bryn Mawr, the Catholic University, Leland Stanford, Jr., and the University of Chicago.

Along with this progress in education there was progress

in literature. The great authors who flourished before the Civil War (p. 266) were still writing books and new authors were also coming to the front. William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, F. Marion Crawford, Henry James and George W. Cable were telling excellent stories. Sidney Lanier, Eugene Field, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, James Whitcomb Riley, C. H. (Joaquin) Miller and R. W. Gilder were writing beautiful poems. Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain") and E. W. (Bill) Nye were delighting millions of readers with their humor. John Fiske, Henry Adams, and John Bach McMaster were making scholarly contributions to American history.

The Growth of Cities. The Table of Progress shows that during this time the number of persons employed in manufacturing was growing larger very fast. This meant (as the Table also shows) a rapid growth in the population of cities, for manufacturing leads to the building of cities. In truth the United States by this time was becoming a nation of cities. By 1890 New York was taking rank with the very largest cities of the world. Chicago had outstripped all the cities of the West and, next to New York, was the greatest city in the country. Philadelphia had a population of over a million, while St. Louis, Baltimore and Boston each had a population of nearly half a million. Nine other cities—Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, New Orleans and Washington, D. C. — had passed the 200,000 mark, while Newark and Minneapolis were rapidly approaching that mark. In the New England States and in New York and New Jersey, the States in which there was so much manufacturing, more than half the people lived in cities.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What effect did the withdrawal of the troops have upon the South?
2. Give an account of the Presidential election of 1880.
3. Describe the assassination of Garfield. What can you say of his successor?



A Group of Later American Writers

William Dean Howells

Novelist. Author of "The Rise of Silas Lapham," "A Modern Instance." Born in Ohio, 1837.

Sidney Lanier

Poet and musician. Leading poet of the South since Poe. Born in Georgia in 1842; died in 1881.

Mark Twain

The pen name of Samuel L. Clemens, humorist. Author of "The Innocents Abroad," "Roughing It." Born in Missouri, 1835; died 1910.

Walt Whitman

"The poet of Democracy." Author of "Leaves of Grass," "Drum-Taps," etc. Born on Long Island, 1818; died Camden, N. J., 1892.

Bret Harte

Short story writer. Author of "The Luck of Roaring Camp." Born in Albany, 1839; died in England, 1902.

4. When and why was the Civil Service Commission established?
5. Describe the New South which arose after the war.
6. Tell of some of the great inventions which appeared during this period (1877-1885).
7. Give an account of the progress we were making in commerce and industry at this time.
8. Give an account of immigration at this time.
9. Tell of the progress we were making in education and in literature.
10. Describe the growth of cities at this time.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1789, 1846, 1862, 1865, 1876.
2. Persons: George Calvert, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Webster, Penn, Pierce, Douglas, Lincoln, Buchanan, John Brown, Grant, Lee, Johnson, Hayes.
3. Tell what you can about: The Stamp Act; the Capture of Mason and Slidell; the Carpet-bagger; the Ku-Klux Klan; Great Fires; the Grangers; Strikes and Riots; the Work of Reconstruction; the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson; the Centennial Exposition; the Electoral Commission.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Great Inventions; Agriculture; Education; the Growth of Cities; Population; English Colonization; Manufacturing.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Civil Service Reform: Hart, 363-365; A United People, 26-28.
 - (2) The Cattle Industry: McLaughlin, 328-336.
 - (3) Agriculture since the Civil War: McLaughlin, 340-348.
 - (4) Edison and Bell: Chandler, 288-297; Faris, 353-376.
 - (5) Pittsburgh, the World's Workshop: Hotchkiss, 118-133.
 - (6) New York: Hotchkiss, 177-197.
 - (7) Boston: Hotchkiss, 161-176.
 - (8) Savannah: Hotchkiss, 147-161.

L

THE DEMOCRATS RETURN TO POWER

While the country was enjoying the remarkable prosperity described in the last chapter, the Republicans were still holding the power that passed into their hands in 1860. When the time came to choose a successor to President Arthur, they went into the campaign confident of success. They had governed the nation through the terrible years of the Civil War, through the dark days of reconstruction, through times of want and times of plenty, and they felt that they had earned the good will of the people and that they would be retained in power. But the voters decided against them; for in 1884 the Democrats, after having been out of office for nearly a quarter of a century, elected their candidate for President.

Election of 1884. Although President Arthur managed the affairs of the country wisely and well, he failed to secure the support of the leaders of his party. When the Republicans made their nomination for President in 1884 their choice fell upon James G. Blaine of Maine. The Democratic candidate was Grover Cleveland of New York.

The election of 1884 was a hard-fought battle. Blaine was one of the ablest and most brilliant men of his time and a great favorite with the people. Cleveland was not so well known as his Republican rival; but as Mayor of Buffalo and as Governor of New York he had won for himself a reputation for industry, honesty, and courage. The campaign cry of the Democrats was tariff reform. During the war the duties on imports had been placed very high (p. 337), and the Democratic party in the campaign of 1884 contended that they ought to be lowered. The voters were of the same opinion, and Cleveland was elected.

By electing Cleveland and thus placing the government in



Grover Cleveland

Born at Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837; mayor of Buffalo in 1882; governor of New York, 1883-84; President of the United States, 1885-89 and 1893-97; died in 1908.

the hands of the Democrats, the voters bestowed power upon the party that had its greatest strength in the South and that was largely under the control of Southern men. This meant that Northern men were no longer afraid to have Southern men as leaders in the affairs of the nation. So the election of Cleveland had the effect of drawing the North and the South closer together and strengthening the bonds of national union. The history of our country since 1885 is the history of a united people.

The Presidential Succession Act; the Electoral Count Act.

Although the Democrats returned to power in 1885, they did not have full control of Congress, for the Senate was still controlled by the Republicans. It was impossible, therefore, for the Democrats to pass any law that the Republicans did not want them to pass. For this reason they could do very little in the way of tariff reform.

Nevertheless, while Cleveland was President Congress

enacted several important laws that were supported by both parties. One of these was the Presidential Succession Act of 1886. This law provides that if, for any reason, neither the President nor the Vice-President can discharge the duties of the Presidential office, members of the President's cabinet shall succeed to the Presidency in the following order: (1) The Secretary of State, (2) The Secretary of the Treasury, (3) The Secretary of War, (4) The Attorney-General, (5) The Postmaster-General, (6) The Secretary of the Navy, (7) The Secretary of the Interior. The one succeeding to the Presidency serves during the remainder of the four years. Under this law it would hardly be possible for the country to be without a President for a single day.

Another important law relating to the office of President was the Electoral Count Act. You remember that in 1876 there was a great deal of trouble over the counting of the electoral votes by which the President was elected (p. 360). In 1887 Congress, in order to avoid any more trouble of that kind, passed a law providing that in the future each State should determine for itself the manner in which the electoral vote should be counted, and that when a State issues a certificate announcing the result of the vote cast by its Presidential electors such certificate shall be accepted as the true result of the election in the State.

Our New Navy. For many years after the Civil War very little was done for our navy. Few new ships had been built, and many of those that had been built during the war were allowed to fall to pieces through neglect. During the administration of President Arthur, however, Congress began the work of building up a strong navy, and during Cleveland's administration this work was carried forward with great energy. In 1886 Congress provided for the building of a number of cruisers and battle-ships that were to be so well equipped that they would be able to give battle to the best ships afloat. After this our navy was never again neglected. On the contrary, it was constantly improved. More ships



One of Uncle Sam's Fighting Ships

and bigger ones and better ones were built from time to time, and at last the American navy grew to be one of the largest and strongest in the world.

Bringing the Railroads Under Control.

The most important law passed at this time was one regulating the railroads. We learned (p. 354) how the Grangers in several States secured from the State legislatures laws that fixed the rates that railroads might charge. But a State law could apply only to the business car-

ried on *within its own boundaries*. Where freight or passengers moved from one State to another the law of a State legislature had no effect; only a law of Congress could control the interstate business of a railroad. Soon after Cleveland became President Congress found it necessary to exercise its authority and bring the interstate business of railroads under regulation. For the railroads were acting in a very bad manner. They were charging some shippers less for a service than other shippers were charged for the very same service; they were giving free tickets to favored persons; they were injuring some cities by charging high rates and building up other cities through low rates.

In order to remedy some of these evils Congress in 1887 passed the Interstate Commerce Law, regulating the interstate business of railroads. The law requires that in the

matter of freight and passenger rates all persons and places shall be treated fairly; that convenient arrangements shall be made for the interchange of traffic between connecting railroads; that free passes between places situated in different States shall not be given; that railroads shall print and make public their freight and passenger rates. At the same time, Congress created the Interstate Commerce Commission, consisting of five (now nine) members, appointed by the President. The duty of this Commission is to see that the railroads carry out the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was the first step taken by Congress to bring the railroads under the control of the national government.

President Cleveland would gladly have gone still further in his plans for railway management. He asked Congress (in 1886) to pass a bill creating a commission that should have the power to settle in a peaceable way all controversies between railroad owners and railroad employees. But Congress failed to pass the bill. Nevertheless, it was now becoming plain that sooner or later the government would have to take part in the settlement of disputes between the owners of the railroads and their employees.

Labor Troubles; the Haymarket Affair. President Cleveland wanted a commission, because he saw that all over the land there was trouble among railroad workers. Many lines of railroads were tied up completely. In New York City the employees of the street-car lines struck, and for a while not a car moved. In Texas there was a strike on a railroad because a man was discharged. A powerful labor organization demanded that the man be taken back. When this was refused a strike was ordered, and in many places there was violence and loss of property. In one city a crowd was fired upon and several persons were killed.

Connected with these labor troubles was a terrible event known as the Haymarket affair. In Chicago, on the 1st of May, 1886, a large body of workingmen who were striking for

an eight-hour day held a mass meeting in Haymarket Square. The meeting was attended by some anarchists — men who believe that laws ought not to be obeyed and that government ought not to exist. Although it was not an anarchist meeting,



The Haymarket Meeting

one of the anarchists addressed it and shouted: "The law is your enemy. We are rebels against it!" At this point two hundred policemen marched up and the crowd was ordered to disperse. At the moment the order was given a bomb with a lighted fuse was thrown into the ranks of the police. The bomb exploded, and killed and wounded sixty men. Several men were arrested and were charged with having assisted in committing the crime. Six were found guilty and sentenced to death. The man who actually threw the bomb escaped.

It was good for the country that the anarchists were checked

so promptly. For anarchy is downright lawlessness and is therefore an enemy of Americanism. Americans love law and order and they demand law and order. If citizens have grievances, if they feel that they are not treated right under the law, they can make their wrongs known to the public and demand that the law be changed. And it will be changed if a majority of the voters so wish. Thus by peaceful means a remedy for grievances may be found. In America, therefore, there is no excuse whatever for violence, and the person who resorts to the torch or the bomb is guilty of crime and deserves to be punished as a criminal.

Cleveland and the Tariff. Although President Cleveland was unable to secure from Congress many important laws that he desired, he nevertheless did not hesitate to ask for the passage of any measure he deemed wise. In 1887 he sent to Congress a message on the tariff. In this famous message he called attention to the fact that the sum of money that was being raised from tariff duties was much greater than the government really needed. He estimated that there would soon be heaped up in the vaults of the treasury nearly



Benjamin Harrison

Born in Ohio, in 1833; grandson of President W. H. Harrison; studied law; served in the Civil War; member of United States Senate; twenty-third President, 1889-93; died in 1901.

\$140,000,000 for which there would be no use. So he strongly recommended that the tariff duties be lowered. But Congress did not follow his recommendation. A bill lowering the duties was passed in the House, which was controlled by the Democrats; but in the Senate, where the Republicans had a majority, it failed to pass.

Election of 1888. The question of the tariff became the great issue in the Presidential campaign in 1888. In that year the Democrats renominated Cleveland, and promised to lower the tariff if the voters would keep them in power. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. In their platform they defended a high tariff, claiming that it resulted in better wages for workingmen and in greater profits for American manufacturers. Harrison received a majority of the electoral votes, although Cleveland received a larger popular vote than his opponent. On March 4, 1889, therefore, the reins of government passed from the hands of the Democrats into the hands of the Republicans.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the election of 1884.
2. What were the provisions of the Presidential Succession Act? Of the Electoral Count Act?
3. What was done in 1886 to strengthen our navy?
4. Why was it necessary for the government to bring the railroads under control? What were the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Law of 1887?
5. Describe the labor troubles of 1886. Give an account of the Haymarket affair. Why is anarchy un-American?
6. Why did President Cleveland ask for the reduction of the tariff duties?
7. Give an account of the election of 1888.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1664, 1776, 1825, 1850, 1860, 1876.
2. Persons: Balboa, Magellan, De Soto, William Penn, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Edison.
3. Tell what you can about: the Tories; the Spoils System; the Capture of Mason and Slidell; the Work of Reconstruction; Alaska.

LI

CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY AND CAPTAINS OF LABOR

About the time President Harrison entered (in 1889) upon his duties, remarkable changes were taking place in the industrial world. Enterprising men, often called "captains of industry," were bringing together large business concerns and causing them to be managed as a single enormous company. At the same time leaders of workingmen, whom we may call "captains of labor," were bringing together wage-earners and organizing them into powerful unions that could act as a single body. If, therefore, you wish to understand the history of this time, you must learn of the changes that were taking place in the business world and in the world of labor.

The Appearance of Corporations. Before the Civil War, under the workings of the factory system (p. 292), some large business concerns made their appearance; but for the most part they were owned and managed either by one person or by two or three persons who had combined their capital and formed a partnership. But even before the Civil War it was sometimes found that the capital of one person, or even the combined capital of several persons, was not always sufficient to carry forward large undertakings in a satisfactory manner. Especially was this true when it was a railroad that was to be built.

For example, it was desirable to build a railroad that would cost \$10,000,000. In those days no single person and no group of two or three persons had so large a sum to invest. How, then, was it possible to build the road? The persons undertaking to build it formed a *corporation*. And what is a corporation? It is a group of individuals authorized by law to act in respect to certain matters as one individual; or, it

is a group of natural persons authorized to act as one artificial person. This artificial person, known as a corporation, can do many things that a natural person can not do, and it can do things on a large scale. The corporation having been formed, the managers of the proposed road proceeded to raise the necessary money. They offered 100,000 shares of \$100 each to the farmers and merchants and mechanics and capitalists of the communities that would be benefited by the road. The offer was not made in vain. All the shares were taken, each person investing according to his ability or his willingness, some taking a single share, others ten shares, others a hundred. Thus through the agency of the corporation the railroad was built. Thousands of persons assisted in building it and thousands shared in its profits.

After the Civil War the corporation was brought into use not only for the operation of railroads but for carrying on almost any kind of business. By President Harrison's time corporations were weaving cloth; they were controlling the manufacture and sale of much of the food that was eaten; they were making dishes and kitchen utensils; they were publishing books; they were lending money; they were insuring lives; they were carrying people from place to place on trolley-lines and railroads and steamboats. In fact, in whatever direction one turned in the financial or industrial or commercial world, there was the corporation.

"Big Business." Since under the corporation plan large numbers of persons could invest their money in a single concern, it was possible to organize companies of enormous size. And that is precisely what was done. After the Civil War business concerns were organized on a scale vastly larger than had ever been dreamed of before. Instead of starting in with a few thousand dollars, a company would often begin with an investment of many millions.

A few figures will show you what was taking place in the business world at this time. In 1870 the number of iron- and steel-mills in the United States was 808, the average capital

invested by each mill being about \$150,000. In 1890 the number of iron-mills was 719, the average capital invested by each mill being \$575,000. In 1880 the number of establishments engaged in making reapers, plows, and other agricultural implements was 1,943, the average capital of each establishment being about \$32,000. Ten years later the number of concerns making agricultural implements was 910, the average capital of each concern being about \$168,000. Take the leather indus-



© Underwood & Underwood

Men at Work in a Big Shoe Factory

try: here the number of establishments fell from 7569 in 1870 to 1787 in 1890, while the average capital of each establishment rose from about \$8000 in 1870 to about \$55,000 in 1890. These figures show clearly that concerns were growing larger and larger and that the tendency of the times was toward "big business."

Observe that as the concerns grew larger the *number* of concerns grew smaller. This meant that the large companies were driving many smaller ones out of business. They could drive them out because the small concerns could not compete in the market with the large concern. Before the Civil War men were accustomed to say that competition was the life of trade. And in most cases this was true. For in those days business men were not afraid of competition. Any concern

that managed its affairs wisely and produced goods that were in demand could look forward to profits, for it entered the market on something like an equal footing with its competitors. But after the war many a small concern found that competition was the death of trade. For the large concern, being able to manufacture goods in immense quantities, sold them at a very small profit and still made a great deal of money; while the small concern, attempting to sell its goods at the price charged by its great rival, was ruined.

The Trusts. The driving of small concerns from the field was only the beginning of the struggles of competition. For in every important industry there were now many big companies, and these had to compete with each other. When a big corporation went into the market to compete with another big corporation, it was diamond cut diamond and the struggle was fierce and costly. Indeed, the big companies found that competition was so destructive of their profits that it would be better if they did not compete with one another at all. So they tried this way and that to avoid competition.

They were not long in finding a new method. Early in the Eighties the big companies began to form what are generally known as *trusts*. And what is a trust? It is simply a combination of corporations; it is a number of corporations joined together in such a way that for most purposes they can transact business as a single concern. But a company can hardly be called a trust unless it is big enough and powerful enough to control the prices of the goods it manufactures. So we may say that a trust is an industrial giant that owns or controls such a large proportion of the factories engaged in making a certain kind of goods that it can control the price at which such goods shall be sold.

The trust method proving to be satisfactory to the plans of those who wanted to stifle competition, the industrial giants came thick and fast. In the Eighties about forty oil companies combined their interests and formed the famous Standard Oil Trust; about twenty sugar refineries joined to form

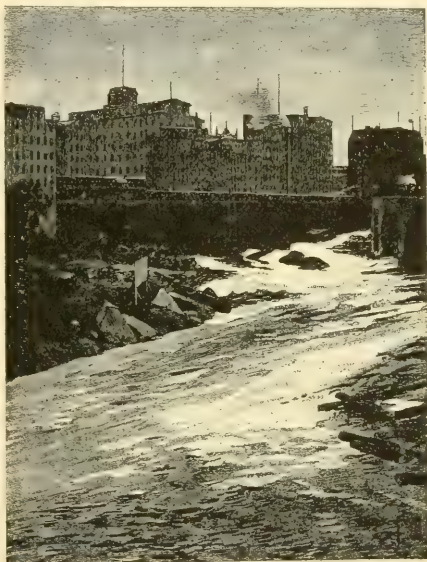
the Sugar Trust; scores of concerns united and formed the Tobacco Trust. It was about this time also that foundations were laid for the Lumber Trust and the Tin Plate Trust, and that greatest of all industrial giants, the Steel Trust.

✓ **Combinations of Workingmen.** And what were the workingmen doing at this time? They were following the example of their employers. Just as employers were combining

their capital to form powerful corporations, employees were combining and forming powerful labor unions. As we have learned, there were labor unions before the Civil War (p. 268). But in those days a labor union was usually a small affair. Moreover, it was in most cases a local affair; the plumbers' union of Philadelphia, for example, had no connection with the plumbers' union of Boston, or with that of New York. After the war, however, the trade unions

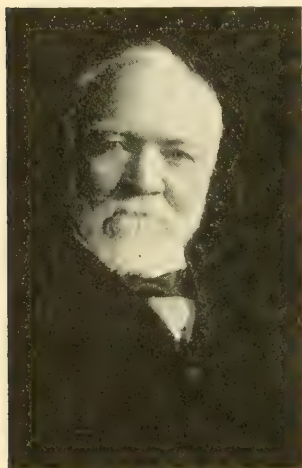
that hitherto had been local and independent of each other united and formed one great national trade union composed of thousands and in some cases of hundreds of thousands, of workingmen engaged in the same occupation.

For what purpose did the workingmen combine? Chiefly in order to secure better wages and a shorter working-day. They wanted a wage that would enable them to buy a fair share of the good things of life, and they wanted a working-day that would be short enough to give them leisure for



Big Flour Mills. Minneapolis in the Eighties

amusements, for recreation, and for self-improvement. Besides higher wages and shorter hours, they asked for laws that would benefit workingmen. They demanded a child-labor law that would forbid the employment of children, because they wanted their children to attend school. They demanded that work in mines and factories be done under sanitary conditions, because they wanted to safeguard their lives.



A Captain of Industry—
Andrew Carnegie

In fact, they were in favor of anything that tended to lift the workingman up and they opposed anything that tended to drag him down.

✓ **Knights of Labor; American Federation of Labor.** But workingmen now were no longer content to be organized simply as trade unions. By President Harrison's time they were joining their forces on a much broader and extensive scale, attempting to unite into one association the workingmen of every trade. One society, the Knights of Labor, admitted not only the wage-earners of the different trades, but nearly all classes

of persons over sixteen, whatever might be their occupation. The Knights demanded that women be given the right to vote; that the working-day should consist of eight hours; that the government should own the railroads; and that children under fourteen years of age should not be employed as wage-earners. In 1882 the Knights had a membership of 140,000; in 1886 a membership of 730,000. Thus at the very time the giant corporation appeared the giant labor organization also appeared.

The Knights of Labor grew weaker both in power and in numbers after 1886. Nevertheless, the combination of workingmen on a grand scale continued; for the American Federation of Labor was now coming to the front. This greatest

of all American labor organizations was formed for the purpose of uniting the trade unions into a single body. The central government—that is, the government of the Federation—attends to matters of general concern, to matters in which workingmen in every trade have an interest. The Federation tries to secure the passage of laws that will benefit workingmen; it encourages the sale of goods that have the union label on them; it tries by peaceful and lawful methods to influence public opinion in favor of organized labor. The Federation met the needs of the workingmen, and it saw its membership grow from 262,000 in 1881 to nearly 3,000,000 in 1920.

Captains of Industry and Captains of Labor.

While the Trusts were forming and the workingmen were combining into great associations, there came to the front two classes of leaders who were new to American life. These were the “captains of industry,” the men who were foremost in building up

the Trusts, and the “captains of labor,” the men who took the lead in organizing the workingmen. The “captains of industry” grew enormously rich. For you must know that while immense volumes of business were passing into the hands of the Trusts immense streams of money were running into the pockets of a few individuals.

Andrew Carnegie, who in his early youth worked in a factory as a bobbin-boy for twenty cents a day, was in the Eighties building up a steel business that was making him one of the richest men in the world. John D. Rockefeller, who began life as a clerk, was now the head of the Standard Oil Company and was coming into wealth that was already being counted by the tens of millions of dollars and that was one



A Captain of Labor—
Samuel Gompers

day to be counted by the hundreds of millions of dollars. Never before in the history of money-making were fortunes built up so rapidly as they were built up by the captains of industry in the early days of the Trusts.

The captains of labor amassed no fortunes but as leaders of vast bodies of workingmen they acquired positions of great power. Mr. Terrence V. Powderly as the head of the Knights of Labor exerted an influence among workers that startled the country. Mr. Samuel Gompers, the head of the American Federation of Labor, pushed to the front as a captain of labor and for more than thirty years was a foremost figure in the industrial life of the nation. ✓

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did business men find it desirable to form corporations? To what extent had the corporations been brought into use by President Harrison's time?
2. Show that the corporation led to "big business." What effect did big business have upon the smaller concerns?
3. Why did the big corporations wish to avoid competition? What was the *pooling agreement*? What is a Trust? Name some of the leading Trusts.
4. What was the usual organization of the labor union before the Civil War? What change took place after the war?
5. Give an account of the Knights of Labor.
6. Give an account of the American Federation of Labor.
7. Who were the "captains of industry"? The "captains of labor"? Name two leading captains of industry; two leading captains of labor.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1664, 1787, 1825, 1865, 1876.
2. Persons: DeSoto, Champlain, Whitney, Morse, Clay, Webster, Johnson.
3. Tell what you can about: The Line of Demarcation; the Pilgrims; the Puritans; the Pennsylvania Dutch; the Scotch-Irish.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Manufacturing; Steps in the Formation of the Union; the Tariff; Americanism.
5. Reading References:
History of the Standard Oil Company, by Ida M. Tarbell; Expansion of the American People, by E. E. Sparks; Monopoly and Trusts, by R. T. Ely.

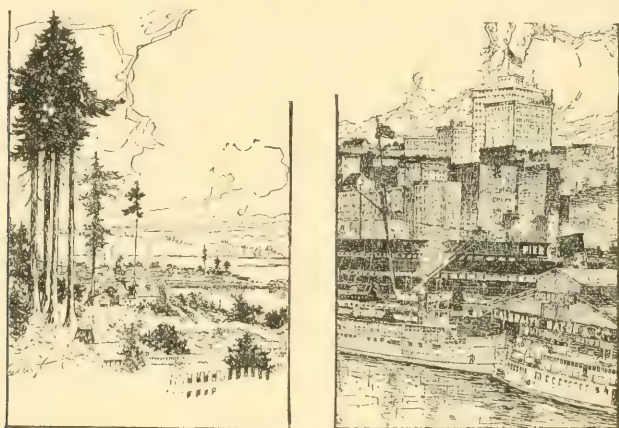
LII

THE NEW WEST; CONTROL OF "BIG BUSINESS"

In the campaign of 1888 the Republicans promised that if their candidate should be elected they would try to secure the passage of laws admitting several Territories of the far West that were seeking to become States. They also promised laws that would protect the people against the schemes of the giant corporations described in the last chapter. Since their candidate was elected, it became necessary for them to deal with problems connected with the development of the far West, and it was also necessary for them to attempt to bring "big business" under control.

The New Northwest. One of the first duties of President Harrison was to proclaim the admission of a number of new States that had risen in the far West. By 1883 the Northern Pacific Railroad (p. 354) had been completed and trains were running from Duluth to Portland. The Northern Pacific served as a mighty channel of trade on which the products of the Northwest could start on their journey to all parts of the world. All sections of the country through which the new road passed felt its benefits immediately, and within seven years after the completion of the great highway five States were organized in the Northwest. In 1889 the great Territory of Dakota (p. 291) was divided and organized into two States — North Dakota and South Dakota — which came into the Union on the same day. In less than a week afterward Montana was admitted, and three days after the admission of Montana the Territory of Washington (p. 291) became a State. In 1890 the population of Washington was only a little more than 20,000, but as soon as the railroad had connected Puget Sound with the Great Lakes, Washington began to grow at a wonderful rate. In a few years its popu-

lation jumped to half a million. Tacoma was transformed from a village in 1880 to a city of 36,000 in 1890, and the growth of Seattle and Spokane was even more wonderful.



Seattle in 1879 and in 1910

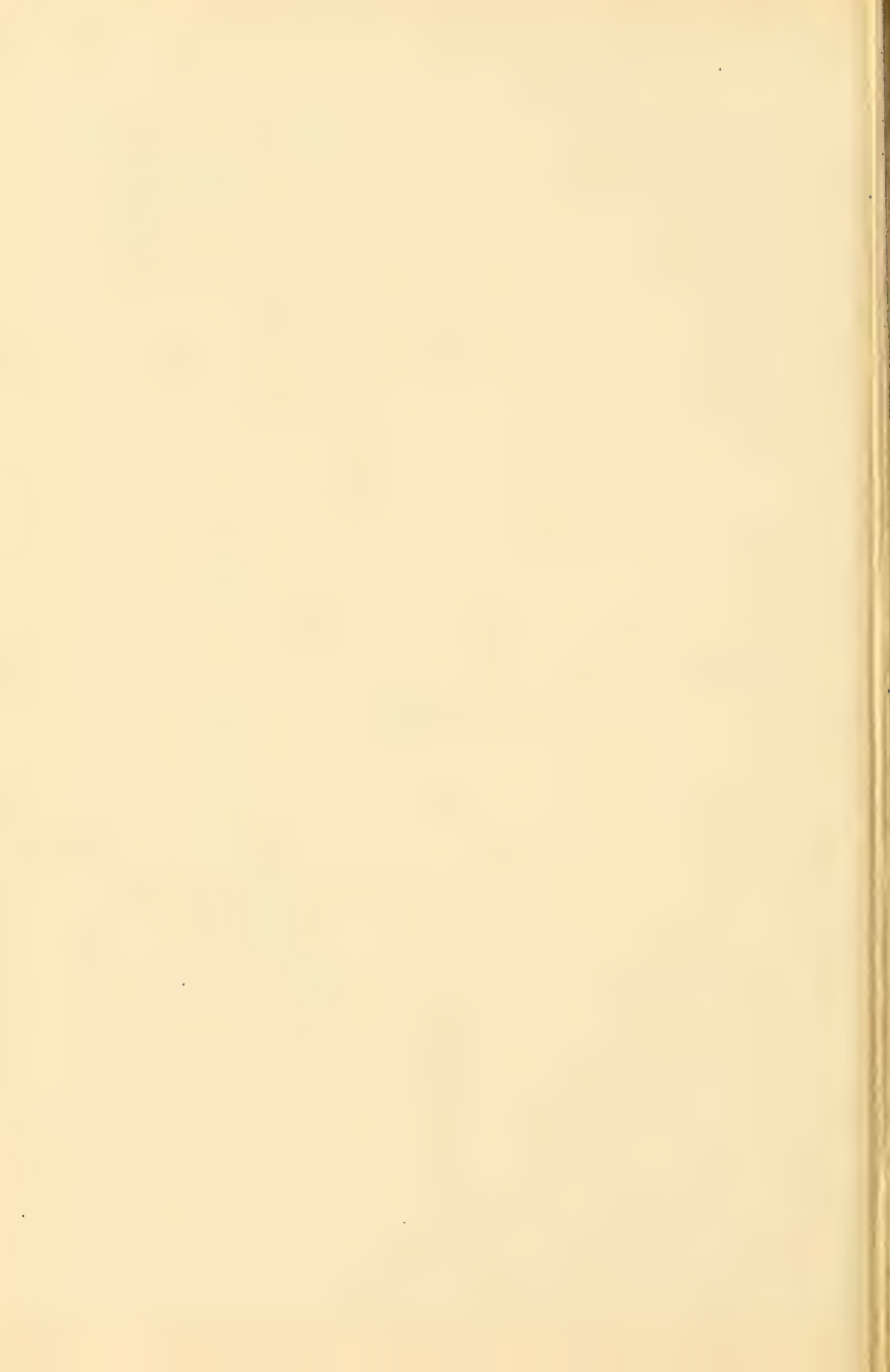
The political organization of the new Northwest was completed in 1890, when Idaho was admitted as a State.¹

Nothing in the history of the westward movement is more remarkable than the rapid growth of the new Northwest. Men still living can tell you of the time when they traveled through this region on horseback for days and did not see a single human being; yet to-day the country is the home of a flourishing civilization. And the development of the Northwest has only fairly begun. The Dakotas, with their broad bonanza farms, already hold high rank as wheat-growing States; yet their yield of grain is growing larger and larger all the time. The grazing area of Montana is as large as Illinois, its mining area is as large as Ohio, and its farming area is as large as Pennsylvania. Idaho is rich in mines and forests and is rapidly pushing to the front as a wool-growing State. Washington is already a rich and populous State,

¹ In the Central West, Wyoming was made a State in 1890 and Utah in 1896.







yet its great commercial advantages and its natural resources, its harbors, its forests, its mines, its grazing-lands, will make it far richer and more populous than it now is.

The New Southwest. While the Union Pacific was opening up the Central West and the Northern Pacific the new Northwest, another great line (the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé) was extending civilization into the unoccupied regions



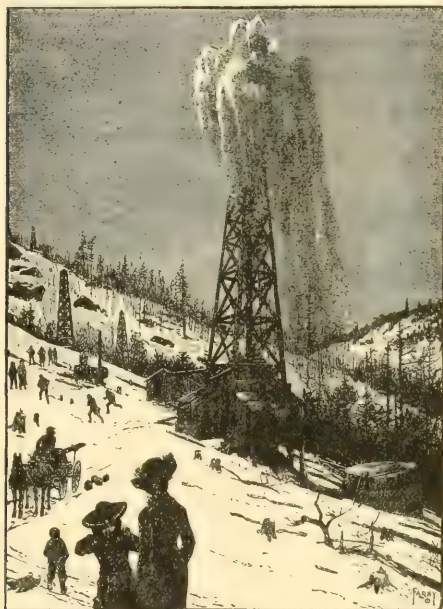
The First Public School Building in South Dakota

of the new Southwest—western Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico. By 1880 one could travel by rail from Kansas City to Santa Fé, and three years later the journey could be continued on to Los Angeles.

From the main line of the Santa Fé connecting roads were built southward, and these hastened the development of northern and western Texas. In 1883 a branch of the Santa Fé reached El Paso, which was soon connected with the Gulf ports by the Texas and Pacific. The immense vacant areas of the Lone Star State now began to fill up with people. San Antonio, Fort Worth, and Dallas soon became important inland centers of trade, while Galveston and Houston took their places among the great exporting cities of the United States.

The building of the Santa Fé also hastened the development of the Oklahoma country, the region that was given to the Indians when they were moved from their homes east of the Mississippi (p. 242), and that for a long time was known as the "Indian Territory." With the coming of the railroad many "palefaces"—the Indians' name for white men—found their way into the red man's country. Piece by piece the Indians gave up their lands, and it was not long before a large part of the Indian country was in possession of white men. In 1890 the western portion of the so-called Indian

Territory was erected into a real Territory and given the name of Oklahoma. Great tracts of public lands were now thrown open to settlers, and the rush to Oklahoma Territory was one of the wildest in the whole history of the westward movement. The chief object of the race was to secure land.



An Oil Field in the New Southwest
Showing a Gusher

Sometimes men would jump from the windows of rapidly moving trains and scamper across the country in order to be the first to reach and lay claim to some desirable tract.

Dealing Fairly with the Indians. While the white man was taking possession of the West in this rapid fashion, the red man suffered. The Indians saw that the day would soon come when they could no longer roam over the broad lands in their old free way, and they gave the white settlers

a great deal of trouble. Many little Indian wars were fought, and hundreds of our soldiers lost their lives. Most of these wars were due to the white man's desire for the red man's land, and often the white man was to blame for the trouble. "The Indians," said President Hayes, "have been driven from place to place. In many instances, when they had settled down upon lands assigned to them by compact and begun to support themselves by their own labor, they were rudely jostled off and thrust into the wilderness again."

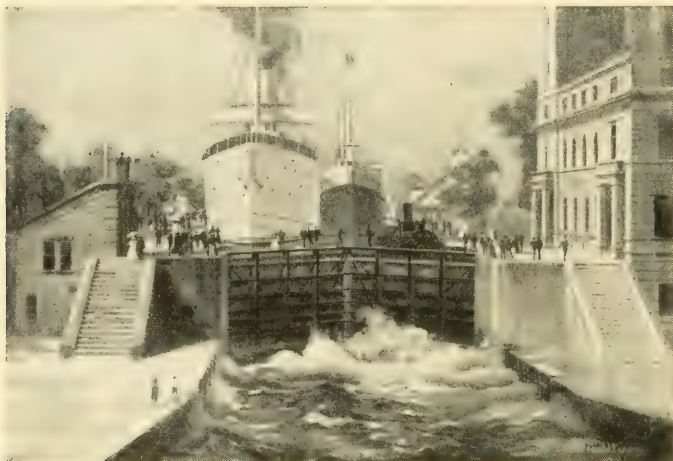
But after a while we began to deal with the Indians more justly and fairly. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Bill.

This provided that an Indian who was the head of a family might receive one hundred and sixty acres of land and be allowed to hold it in private ownership, just as other people hold their land. The Indian holding land in this way was given the rights of citizenship, for upon receiving the land he ceased to be a member of any Indian tribe and became a citizen of the United States. Under the workings of the Dawes Bill many thousands of Indians became the owners of farms and began to enjoy the rights of American citizenship.

About this time, too, our government began to give more attention to the needs of the Indians who were living on the reservations. During the administration of Cleveland and Harrison Congress began to spend money for the education of Indian children and to look after the interests of the red man in other ways, and ever since the Indians on the reservations have been the object of governmental care.

Big Business and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. We have already learned (pp. 382-385) with what mighty strides the Trusts were marching onward about the time of Harrison's election; how they were combining and stifling competition and driving smaller concerns out of business. By 1890 the people were demanding that something be done to check the march of the industrial giants. Accordingly Congress, in response to the demands of the people, passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. This famous law declared that persons entering into combinations for the purpose of suppressing competition should be punished by fine and imprisonment. It also declared war against monopoly. "Every person," said the law, "who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, shall be deemed guilty of misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both." It was the hope of our statesmen that this law would curb the Trusts and remedy the evils of "big business." We shall learn hereafter (p. 429) to what extent their hopes were realized.

The McKinley Tariff. The Democrats declared that a good way to crush Trusts would be to lower the tariff duties, contending that the growth of many of the great manufacturing establishments was due to the fact that they were shielded from competition with foreign goods by the high duties on imports. But the Republicans took a different view of the



Steamers Passing Through the "Soo" Locks in the Great Lakes

matter. It will be remembered that in 1888 the Republicans won the election on the tariff issue (p. 380). Their victory caused them to believe that the people wanted a new tariff law. In 1890 William McKinley, a leader of the Republicans in Congress, came forward with a tariff measure that raised the duties on imports higher than they had ever been before. The duties on some articles were placed so high that the goods were kept out of the country altogether, for they could not be imported with profit. The duties on cotton and woolen goods and on many kinds of foods were especially high. The Democrats who opposed the bill said that it would raise prices, but McKinley replied that he was not afraid of high prices. "I do not prize the word cheap," he said, "it is not a word of hope; it is not a word of cheer. Cheap merchandise means

cheap men, and cheap men mean a cheap country." McKinley succeeded in persuading Congress to pass this bill, and it became a law in 1890.

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act. While Congress was dealing with the Trusts and the tariff, it was at the same time called upon to deal with another question that was as serious as any that had arisen since the Civil War. This was the silver question. From the foundation of the government until the year 1873 the coining of silver had been free. Any one who had silver bullion (uncoined silver) could take it to one of our mints and have it coined into silver dollars. The coinage of gold during this time was also free. From 1834 to 1873 the ratio between silver and gold was 16 to 1; that is, a silver dollar was practically sixteen times as heavy as a gold dollar. In 1873 Congress discontinued the free coinage of silver and made gold the unit of value, leaving the coinage of gold free, as before. In 1878 there was a demand for the coinage of silver, and in that year the Bland-Allison Act provided that our government should buy not less than two million dollars' worth and not more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion each month and coin it into silver dollars. The law continued in force for twelve years, and under its workings nearly \$400,000,000 in silver was coined. In 1890 the Bland-Allison Act was repealed and a law known as the Sherman Purchase Act was passed. Under this law the government was to purchase each month 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the market price, and pay for the silver with treasury notes, which could be presented by the holder to the Secretary of the Treasury and be redeemed either in silver or gold, as the Secretary might decide.

Election of 1892. The Anti-Trust Act was approved by the people of the entire country, and the Silver Purchase Act was hailed with delight by the owners of silver-mines in the far West; but the McKinley Tariff Law proved to be an extremely unpopular measure. This was shown in the Congressional election in 1890, when the Democrats came out

squarely against the high tariff, and as a result 235 Democratic members of Congress were elected, while the Republicans elected only 88. No wonder, then, that the tariff was a leading issue in the Presidential election of 1892. The Democrats that year promised that they would repeal the McKinley Law, and nominated ex-President Cleveland as their candidate. The Republicans renominated President Harrison and declared for a high tariff. The main issue of the campaign, therefore, was the tariff; and on this issue the Democrats swept the country, not only electing their candidate for President, but gaining control also of both branches of Congress, something they had not done since the election of Buchanan in 1856. So it seemed that in 1892 the people were not so well pleased with the system of high tariff and protection as they had been four years before (p. 380).

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Tell the story of the development of the New Northwest.
2. Tell the story of the development of the New Southwest.
3. What was the chief cause of trouble with the Indians after the Civil War? What were the provisions of the Dawes Bill?
4. Why was it necessary for the government to attempt to bring "big business" under control? What were the provisions of the Anti-Trust Act?
5. Describe the McKinley Tariff.
6. What was the practice of our Government in regard to silver before 1873? What was done in regard to it in 1873? In 1890?
7. Give an account of the election of 1892.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1643, 1689, 1781, 1782, 1863, 1876.
2. Persons: Edmund Andros, Lafayette, George Rogers Clark, Cornwallis, Van Buren, Johnson, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Edison, Cleveland.
3. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Westward Movement; Means of Communication; Indians and Indian Wars; the Tariff; Bankruptcy and Currency; the Growth of Cities; Commerce.
4. Reading References:
 - (1) Seattle: Hotchkiss, 32-43.
 - (2) Duluth: Hotchkiss, 74-86.
 - (3) Trusts: Dewey, 188-202.

LIII

HARD TIMES

In the chapters that we have just been studying a great deal was said about the prosperity of the country. But this prosperity was not to continue unbroken. About 1893 it began to grow less and a period of adversity followed. In fact, the history of the country for the four years following the close of Harrison's administration is largely a story of hard times.

World's Columbian Exposition. When President Cleveland began his duties as President for the second time (March 4, 1893), he could see breakers ahead, for affairs were in an unsettled condition and there was much discontent throughout the land. Nevertheless, with his countrymen, he could forget for a moment the troubles of the nation and view with pride and satisfaction the wonders of the World's Columbian Exposition, which he was called upon to open soon after his inauguration. This Exposition was held at Chicago, its purpose being to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. It was officially opened in October, 1892, but visitors were not admitted until May, 1893.

When the President touched the electric button the wheels of the great engines began to revolve, fountains began to play, chimes began to ring, curtains in front of the platform parted to show models of the three boats of Columbus (p. 15), the flags of many nations were unfurled, cannon boomed, bands played, and the people cheered wildly. And they did well to cheer wildly, for the Exposition was the greatest the world had yet seen. Its buildings occupied 660 acres of ground. The largest building, the one devoted to manufac-

tures and the liberal arts, covered 25 acres. The total cost of the Exposition was nearly \$40,000,000. The number of paid admissions was more than 22,000,000.

Repeal of the Purchase Clause of the Sherman Act. The



The Columbian Exposition

first thing to give President Cleveland trouble was the silver question. At the very beginning of his second term the silver problem came up in a form that demanded immediate attention. We saw that in 1890 the government under the Sherman Purchase Act began to buy silver and pay for it in treasury notes (p. 395). By 1893 these notes amounted to \$150,000,000, and, in the opinion of many leading financiers, their issue was becoming a source of danger to the business world. President Cleveland regarded them as dangerous, and soon after his inauguration called a special session of Congress to consider the repeal of the Sherman Purchase Act. After three months of stormy debate in Congress the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act was repealed (October, 1893); no more silver was to be bought and no more treasury notes (p. 395) with which to pay for the silver were to be issued. This action of Congress pleased many people in the East, but it was a hard blow to the Western people, who felt that silver ought to be used as a basis for the money that they needed in the transaction of their business.

The Wilson Tariff; the Income Tax. You remember that it was on the tariff issue that the Democrats came into power in 1892 (p. 396). It was to be expected, therefore, that they would give the country a new tariff. Just as soon as they had disposed of the silver question they took up the tariff question. In December, 1893, William L. Wilson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, came forward with a bill to reduce the tariff in accordance with the pledges made during the campaign. After a debate that lasted far into the summer of 1894, the bill became a law (August, 1894). The Wilson Bill did not disturb the existing rates to any great extent. Still, some of the rates were lowered, and it was believed that under the workings of the new law the revenue of the government would be reduced. In order to provide sufficient revenue, Congress levied a tax on incomes of more than \$4,000. This income tax, however, was declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be contrary to the Constitution, and it was not collected. So no revenue was received from the income tax of 1894. This was a great disappointment to millions of voters who believed that it was right and just that incomes should be taxed.

Panic of 1893; Labor Troubles. While Congress was wrestling with these great problems the country was passing through one of the worst panics in our history. The period of suffering began about the time Cleveland entered upon his second term, and is known as the panic of 1893. The hard times lasted for several years and the distress reached all classes of people. Business men who had been rich found themselves poor. Hundreds of thousands of laboring men were thrown out of employment, and in many cities there was suffering from starvation and cold.

The hard times led to unrest among workingmen and to strikes and riots. During the winter of 1893-94 groups of idle men organized as little armies, with the purpose of marching to Washington and demanding relief at the hands of Congress. One of these bands, led by J. S. Coxey and known

as Coxey's Army, actually reached Washington. But the moment Coxey set foot upon the Capitol grounds he was arrested for trespassing upon the grass. His army of a few dozen men soon dwindled away.

But the most serious outbreak during this time of panic was in Chicago. In 1894 the wages of the employees of the Pullman Car Company (located near Chicago) were reduced, and there was a strike. The employees of many railroads centering in Chicago were in sympathy with the strikers and refused to handle Pullman cars. Mobs gathered in the freight-yards, and hundreds of cars were burned. The mails of the United States were obstructed, and in order to protect the mails President Cleveland sent regular troops to Chicago. Shortly after the arrival of the troops the rioting ceased and the strike came to an end. ✕

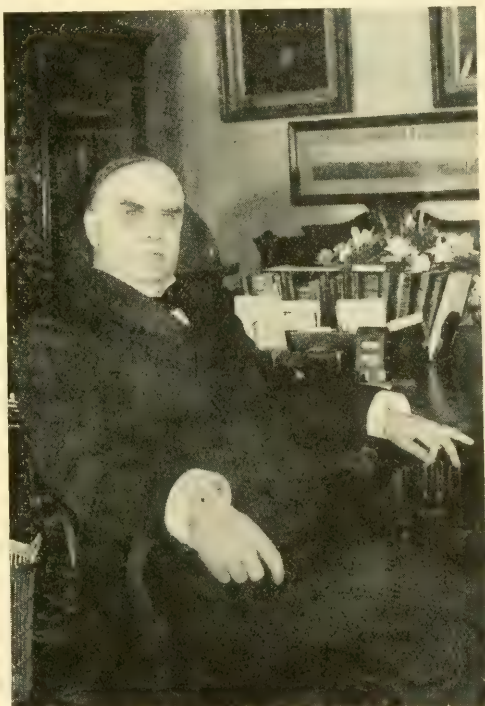
The Venezuela Boundary Dispute. President Cleveland had hardly finished with the rioting in Chicago before he was called upon to deal with a serious question relative to foreign affairs. The trouble arose with Great Britain. In 1895 it seemed that Great Britain was about to extend the western boundary of British Guiana and thus encroach upon the territory of Venezuela. This was contrary to the Monroe Doctrine (p. 222), which says that a European power has no right to add any more territory to its American possessions. President Cleveland determined to uphold the Monroe Doctrine. In a message to Congress he hinted strongly that if Great Britain should extend her borders farther than was agreeable to the United States her act would be regarded as unfriendly. The message created a great deal of excitement and there was talk of war. But arrangements were made to settle the affair by arbitration. So it was not necessary for the two great nations to come to blows.

A few "jingo" men who are over-fond of fighting—would have been glad if the Venezuela question had led to war. But the people generally demanded that the dispute be settled in an honorable and at the same time peaceful man-

ner. In making this demand they were voicing the spirit of true Americanism. For we are a peace-loving nation. If war must come we know how to meet it like men; but if peace can be maintained by honorable means, then our cry always is for peace. "Peace," said Thomas Jefferson, "is our passion."

Election of 1896.

At the end of Cleveland's second administration the country was still suffering from hard times. The Republicans blamed the Democratic party for the distress, claiming that the Wilson Bill had injured the manufacturing interests and brought on financial depression. So in 1896, when the Re-

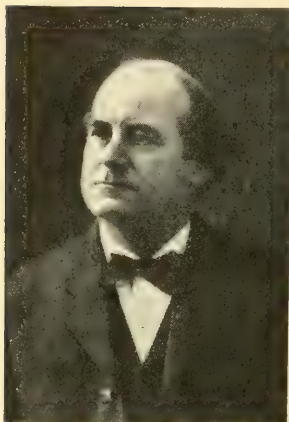


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William McKinley

Born in Ohio, in 1843; served in the Civil War; member of Congress; governor of Ohio; twenty-fifth President, 1897-1901; died in 1901.

publicans came to nominate a candidate for President, they chose a high-tariff champion, William McKinley of Ohio. The Democrats contended that the hard times were due, not to the Wilson Bill, not to a low tariff, but to a scarcity of money; and they demanded that the government should coin, at the ratio of 16 to 1, all the silver that might be brought to its mints, as it had been accustomed to do before 1873 (p. 395). They nominated as their candidate



William Jennings Bryan

Born at Salem, Illinois, in 1860; member of Congress; three times the nominee of the Democratic party for the Presidency; Secretary of State, 1913-1915.

William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. Since the People's party was in favor of the free coinage of silver, it also nominated Mr. Bryan.

The campaign of 1896 was one of the hardest fought political battles in all our history. The Republicans warned the voters of the disasters that would come upon the country if silver should be coined at the rate of 16 to 1. The market price of the silver metal in a hundred silver dollars in 1896 was worth about sixty-nine dollars in gold. Since this was so, the Republicans contended that under free coinage people would always pay their debts in silver; if a

man owed \$100, he would take \$69 in gold, buy silver with it, get the silver coined into one hundred silver dollars, and pay his debt. Such a transaction, the Republicans said, would bring disgrace and dishonor upon the nation. To meet this argument the Democrats asserted that under a free coinage law there would be an enormous demand for silver and that this would raise the market value of the white metal.

The campaign of 1896 stirred the country to its depths. Bryan was not well known at the time of his nomination; but he was an accomplished orator and proved to be a brilliant campaigner. "In fourteen weeks he made six hundred speeches, he traveled eighteen thousand miles, and it is estimated that nearly five million persons came within the sound of his voice." When the bitter contest was over and the votes were counted, it was found that McKinley had received 271 electoral votes and that Bryan had received 176. Of the popular vote McKinley received 7,111,607, while Bryan received 6,502,600.

Silver Question Postponed; the Dingley Bill. The Re-

publicans won their victory on the silver issue, yet they were in reality not so much interested in silver as they were in the tariff. They contended that the Wilson Bill was a failure because it did not furnish enough revenue to meet the expenses of government and because it did not protect our manufactures from foreign competition. Accordingly, they decided that action on the silver question could be wisely postponed, and that the first thing to be done was to give the country a new tariff law. President McKinley, agreeing to this plan, soon after his inauguration (March 4, 1897) called an extra session of Congress to deal with the tariff question. In July the Dingley Tariff Bill was passed and the Wilson Bill repealed. The Dingley law raised the duties even higher than those of the McKinley Tariff (p. 394), and the rates of that tariff, you remember, were very high indeed. The Dingley law was liked by the manufacturers, and after its enactment it was twelve years before another important tariff law was passed.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the World's Columbian Exposition.
2. Why was the purchase clause of the Sherman Act repealed?
3. Give an account of the income tax law of 1894.
4. Describe the panic of 1893, and give an account of the labor troubles that occurred at this time.
5. What was the Venezuela boundary dispute, and how was it settled?
6. Give a full account of the election of 1896.
7. Describe the Dingley Bill.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1803, 1821, 1860, 1865, 1877.
2. Tell what you can about: the Northwest Territory; the Convention of 1787; the Ordinance of 1787; the Era of Good Feeling; the Monroe Doctrine; the Impeachment of Johnson; "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
3. Reviews of Great Subjects: the Presidents, their Election and Inauguration; the Currency; the Tariff; Foreign Relations since 1789.
4. Reading References:
 - (1) Labor Disturbances: Dewey, 288-296.
 - (2) Campaign of Free Coinage: Dewey, 314-328.

LIV

THE UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER

For more than a hundred years the United States held a place to itself far apart from the other countries of the globe. It maintained friendly relations with the nations of the Old World and traded with them, but outside of this it had very little to do with them. In the very last years of the nineteenth century, however, we abandoned our old policy of holding aloof from foreign affairs. Indeed, we were compelled to abandon it. Events brought us into touch with distant nations in a way that made it necessary for us to mingle with other nations. The result was, our interests soon became world-wide and the United States became a world power.

War with Spain. Soon after the Republicans returned to power in 1897, the minds of the people began to turn from questions like the tariff and free silver to things that were taking place outside of the country. Hardly had the Dingley Bill been passed than Congress was called upon to deal with a serious situation in Cuba. This island had for a century been an object of interest and concern to the people of the United States. Jefferson and John Quincy Adams thought we ought to own Cuba, and attempts were made from time to time during the nineteenth century to annex the island to this country. Spain, however, continued to hold Cuba long after she had lost most of her other possessions in America.

Cuba was unhappy under Spanish rule, and in rebellion after rebellion struggled hard to throw off the foreign yoke. The last Cuban rebellion began in 1895, and the measures taken by Spain to put down the uprising were so cruel and bloody that the people of the United States felt that our government ought to interfere and stop the inhuman warfare. Our government did protest (June 1, 1897), and Spain

promised that Cuba should have self-government. But the Cuban rebellion continued nevertheless, and the relations between Spain and the United States grew worse and worse. In February, 1898, President McKinley ordered the battle-ship *Maine* to Cuban waters, and the vessel, while lying in



The Spanish-American War in the West Indies

the harbor of Havana, was destroyed by an explosion. Two hundred and fifty sailors and officers lost their lives. Spain declared that she was in no way responsible for the explosion. A board of naval officers, after an examination, reported that the *Maine* had been destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine; but the board was unable to fix the responsibility upon any person or persons.

The people of the United States, whether justly or unjustly, blamed the Spaniards for the destruction of the *Maine*, and there was a clamor for war against Spain. On April 24, 1898, war was officially declared by Congress. The President called for 125,000 volunteer troops, and the response came from all parts of the country. Soldiers who in the Civil War had worn the gray fought in the Spanish-American War side by side with those who had worn the blue.

The first battle of the war with Spain was a naval engagement. On May 1 Commodore (afterward Admiral) Dewey attacked a Spanish fleet that was stationed in Manila Bay, Philippine Islands, and after a battle lasting half a day ten Spanish ships were sunk or destroyed and more than six hundred Spanish sailors were killed or wounded. The Americans



The Capture of the Block House at San Juan

did not lose a single ship or a single man. Dewey was soon reinforced by land troops under General Merritt, and on August 13 the city of Manila was taken. Thus the Philippine Islands, which had been held by Spain from the days of Magellan, (p. 20) fell into the hands of the United States.

The fighting in Cuba took place near the city of Santiago. On May 19 a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera entered the harbor of this city, where they were blockaded by a strong American fleet under Admiral Sampson. On June 3 Lieutenant Richard Hobson undertook to "bottle up" the Spanish fleet within the Santiago harbor. With several companions

he conducted the coal-ship *Merrimac* to the narrowest place in the channel and there sank it. Hobson and his men were captured. In the meantime our land troops were gathering around Santiago. On July 1 El Caney and San Juan Hill, the outer defenses of Santiago, were assaulted by the Americans, and after two days' fighting were carried by storm. In this struggle distinguished service was rendered by the Rough Riders, a regiment made up of cow-boys, hunters, ranchmen, Indians, and college graduates. Dr. Leonard Wood was the colonel of this regiment, and Theodore Roosevelt the lieutenant-colonel.

When Cervera saw that Santiago was doomed, he sailed out of the harbor — he was not “bottled up,” after all. But he was not allowed to escape. His ships were attacked by the American fleet commanded by Admiral Sampson, and within a few hours they were destroyed. In this engagement the American fleet was directed by Commodore Schley, the actual commander being absent, though not out of sight of the fighting at the time of the engagement. Soon after the destruction of the Spanish fleet Santiago surrendered (July 17). On July 25 General Miles captured Porto Rico.

Spain was now ready for peace, and in August, by the terms of a preliminary treaty, agreed to surrender all claim to Cuba and to cede to the United States Porto Rico and all other Spanish islands in the West Indies. Further on in the peace negotiations Spain also agreed to give up to the United States all sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, receiving therefor the sum of \$20,000,000. Thus the Spanish War gave us the Philippine Islands and Porto



The Philippines

Rico, and took from Spain every foot of land she possessed in the New World. During the progress of the war the Hawaiian Islands were annexed (July, 1898) to the United States.¹

At first the Filipinos on some of the islands were discontented with American rule, and in February, 1899, insurgent forces led by Aguinaldo attacked the American army at Manila. The uprising, however, was put down, and gradually the Filipinos grew accustomed to the new order of things.

How were these new acquisitions to be governed? Cuba was allowed to become an independent nation, although she



Street Scene in Manila

had to agree that she would never impair her independence by any treaty that she might make with any foreign power. Hawaii was given a Territorial government (p. 171) and was made a Territory of the United States. Porto Rico and the Philippine group were placed under the control of Congress, and each was given the form of government that seemed to be most suitable

to its needs. The form was changed from time to time, until at last both the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos were enjoying nearly all the rights and privileges of free and self-governing peoples.

We have treated the possessions that came to us as a result of the Spanish-American War in a wise and just manner, and we ought to be proud that we have done so. For to deal fairly with any country or region that is under our

¹ Guam was seized by our navy during the war, and was retained. Certain islands of the Samoan group (including Tutuila) were acquired by treaty in 1900.

control is a test of good Americanism. We have always been the owner of dependent territory, but we have never oppressed the inhabitants of a country subject to our rule. On the contrary, we have always acted as their "big brother" and have tried to better their condition. This has been our policy in the past, and will continue to be our policy as long as America is true to itself.

An Era of Expansion. The United States was not the only nation that at this time was carrying its power to distant parts of the earth. For the latter part of the nineteenth century was an era of expansion throughout the world. Great nations were pushing out into remote regions and taking possession of new territory wherever they could get a foothold. Especially was this true of Great Britain, France, and Germany. Great Britain, having already established her rule in India, Australia, and New Zealand, was rapidly acquiring wide stretches of territory in Africa. France was also spreading her power over immense areas in Africa; for the great "dark continent" was now the richest of prizes for the nations that were struggling for new possessions. Germany likewise was taking part in the wild scramble for territory in foreign lands. The Germans began to extend their power over new territory in 1866, when Prussia took possession of Schleswig-Holstein. Five years later, at the close of the Franco-German War, Alsace-Lorraine was torn from France and annexed to the German Empire. In 1884 Germany entered the field of African colonization, and before many years had passed there was a German East Africa and a German Southwest Africa. Thus at the opening of the twentieth century the most powerful nations in Europe were struggling for the possession of new territory in the backward and undeveloped countries, each nation trying to secure the best land that was open to settlement, and as much of it as possible.

Taking a Hand in the Affairs of the Far East. Our presence in the Philippines brought us into contact not only with

eastern Asia but also with the nations of Europe. For Great Britain, Germany, and France were not only taking possession of Africa; they were in the far East, extending their trade and struggling for the control of new territory. The first event that showed us we had new duties in the Orient was an outbreak in China known as the Boxer Rebellion. In May, 1900, some Chinese fanatics called Boxers began to wage war upon foreigners in the city of Peking. They besieged the residences of foreign ambassadors, and many Americans and Europeans were killed. Soon, however, a strong force of soldiers and sailors, furnished by the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, and Russia, appeared upon the scene and saved the besieged foreigners. In this work of relief our soldiers took a prominent part. It was possible for them to give help promptly, for at the time several thousand American troops were stationed near by in the Philippines.

After the Boxer outbreak there was a rumor that the great powers of Europe were planning to seize upon certain portions of Chinese territory and thus secure for themselves peculiar advantages in matters of trade. Again our government decided to take a hand in the affairs of the far East. Our Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, came out in favor of the "open door" policy, declaring that all nations should have equal commercial privileges at Chinese ports. The "open door" policy was agreed to, and the ports of China were thrown open to the commerce of every nation. Thus in more than one way it was being made plain that the United States had become a world power.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What events led to the war with Spain? Tell the story of this war. What were the results of the war?
2. How were the new acquisitions governed?
3. Give an account of expansion at this time.
4. What was the Boxer Rebellion? What is meant by the "open door" policy?

LV

THE DAWN OF A NEW CENTURY

At the time our country was stepping forward to take its place as a power in world affairs, a new century was dawning. When the nineteenth century opened, a spirit of progress began to show itself among the American people, and during the early years of the century important reforms were made in almost every department of the nation's life. In this chapter, therefore, and in the next we shall learn of the remarkable progress made by our country in the first years of the twentieth century.

Gold Basis Established. We saw (p. 402) that the Republicans after their victory in 1896 failed to take up the silver question, the very question that had brought them into power. How was the silver question at last solved? We may say that it solved itself. In 1897 additional volumes of money began to flow into the United States. The supply of gold was greatly increased by the output that came from the newly discovered gold-mines of the Klondike region. Then also we began to sell extraordinary quantities of foodstuffs to foreign countries, and the money spent for this food poured into our coffers. The result was that within a very few years we had enough money for the transaction of business. Since this was about all the Democrats in 1896 desired, their wishes were fulfilled without resorting to the free coinage of silver. So when the Republicans late in McKinley's administration undertook to deal with the money question, they found the task an easy one. They passed (in 1900) the Gold Standard Act, which made gold the standard unit of value, and which failed to provide for the coinage of silver other than that which was already in stock. Thus, after a struggle of more than twenty

years, the battle between silver and gold was at last won by the yellow metal.

Reelection of McKinley; His Death. By the time the Gold Standard Act was passed another Presidential election was at hand. When the campaign of 1900 opened, the period of hard times was a thing of the past and the country was in a prosperous condition. So the Republicans in 1900 were confident of success. They renominated McKinley for President and nominated Theodore Roosevelt for Vice-President. The Democrats again nominated William J. Bryan, and declared against the policy of holding new possessions as dependencies, asserting that such a policy was contrary to the principles of the American government. In the election that followed the Republicans were successful.

In the autumn of 1901 the American people for the third time were startled and horrified by the news that their President had been assassinated. President McKinley, on September 8, while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, was shot by an anarchist, and on September 14 he died. His death brought sorrow to every home. His private life had been pure and blameless, and in the performance of his public duties he was honest, kind-hearted, and skilful.

President Roosevelt. Upon the death of President McKinley the Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, at once assumed the duties of the Presidency. Roosevelt, although still a comparatively young man,—he was only forty-two years of age,—was already a well known statesman. He had been at the head of the Police Board in New York City, where he carried on a bitter warfare against law-breakers; he had served as Assistant Secretary of the United States Navy; he had taken part in the war with Spain (p. 407); he had served as Governor of New York; as Vice-President he had presided over the United States Senate. So when Roosevelt became President in September, 1901, the country knew him as a man who had filled many useful offices and who had rendered good service in every office he had held.

✓ **Anthracite Coal Strike.** One of the serious questions that President Roosevelt had to deal with was a great strike of the anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania. The strike began in the spring of 1902, and dragged on through the summer and far into the fall. The contest between the mine-owners and their employees was stubborn in the extreme. The mine-owners hoped to tire the miners out. But the miners were a well organized, powerful body, and were led by John Mitchell, a "captain of labor" who knew how to hold his men in line. So the deadlock continued, and coal became scarcer and scarcer and its price soared higher and higher. In some places it could not be bought at any price.



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Theodore Roosevelt

Born at New York, in 1858; assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1897-98; fought in the Spanish-American War; appointed colonel in 1898; elected governor of New York, 1898; Vice-President, 1900; succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of McKinley; reelected in 1904; died in 1919.

Indeed, it seemed that there was going to be a coal famine that would bring disaster to the entire country. In order to prevent this, President Roosevelt undertook to bring about a settlement of the strike, and after a good deal of trouble succeeded in getting the strikers and mine-owners to submit their quarrel to a commission appointed by the President. The miners went back to work and the commission settled the matter in a manner satisfactory to both sides.

The Panama Canal. While the President was trying to

settle the coal strike, he was at the same time carrying forward plans for building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The people of the United States had for many years desired a ship-canal across this isthmus in order to save the long voyage around Cape Horn. Some difficulty, however,



The Panama Canal

usually stood in the way of building the canal. In Taylor's administration we entered into an agreement with England — a compact known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty — not to build an isthmian canal over which we should have exclusive control. Inasmuch as our government wished to have full control over any canal that might be built, this treaty stood in our way until 1902, when the Hay-Pauncefote treaty set aside the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and gave us full power to construct and operate a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. But now another difficulty arose: the United States of Colombia, the country to which the Isthmus of Panama belonged, refused to ratify the treaty that gave us the right of way across the

Isthmus. In 1903, however, Panama, one of the States of the United States of Colombia, seceded and set up a government of its own, and with this new government we made arrangements for a right of way across the Isthmus.

After the right of way was secured the task of building the canal was taken up in earnest and carried to completion. In 1915 the canal was opened to the ships of the world. Vessels that had taken a month to make the voyage around South America could now pass through the canal in ten or twelve hours. The opening of the canal was celebrated in a fitting manner by holding in San Francisco an exhibition known as the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

Election of 1904. Mr. Roosevelt received great praise for the manner in which he conducted public affairs, and was a great favorite with the people. So in 1904 he was nominated by the Republicans on the first ballot by a unanimous vote of the National Convention. The Democrats nominated Alton B. Parker of New York. The Socialists nominated Eugene V. Debs of Indiana. Roosevelt was elected by an overwhelming majority, his plurality reaching the enormous figure of more than 2,500,000.

Rate Law of 1906; Pure Food Law. While Mr. Roosevelt was President, Congress passed several laws that were of great benefit to the people. One of these was the Rate Law of 1906. This law gave the Interstate Commerce Commission (p. 377) power to fix the rates charged by the railroads. Under this law, if a shipper (or a passenger) thinks that a certain rate charged by a railroad is unjust, he can make a complaint to the Commission; and if that board also thinks that the rate complained of is unjust or unreasonable, it may do away with the old rate and fix a rate that it regards as just and reasonable. By passing the Rate Law of 1906 Congress strengthened the arm of the Interstate Commerce Commission and thus took another step toward bringing the railroads under the control of the national government.

Another important law passed by Congress at this time

was the Pure Food Act. Manufacturers of drugs and food companies had been selling impure and adulterated articles to such an extent that the health of the people was seriously threatened. So in 1906 Congress put a stop to the selling of impure drugs and foods by imposing a penalty upon any one using poisons or injurious substances in articles shipped from one State to another.

Conservation of Natural Resources. President Roosevelt was a strong advocate of conserving our natural resources, such as our streams, our grazing and mineral lands, and our forests, and he did everything he could to prevent them from going to waste. While he was President, Congress provided (in 1902) that the money received for public lands in certain States should be spent for irrigation works. Dams were to be built and water stored up for distribution over lands that were not blessed with sufficient rainfall. The lands thus made fit for tillage by water coming down from the mountains to the irrigation works were to be sold to settlers at reasonable prices. The work of reclaiming dry lands by means of irrigation was pushed forward rapidly, and before many years had passed millions of acres of arid land had been supplied with water and were being tilled with profit. It has been estimated that the time will come when 20,000,000 people will be living on farms saved by irrigation.

But successful irrigation depends largely upon the preservation of the forests. For if the mountains are stripped of their trees water will not flow down to the irrigation works in a satisfactory manner. So President Roosevelt interested himself in the protection of our national forests. In 1905 we had more than 160,000,000 acres of national forest lands, located principally in the Rocky Mountain States. In the management of these vast forest possessions there had been great waste. Fires had been allowed to rage unchecked; timber had been cut by those who had no right to cut it; cattlemen had turned their cattle loose to graze in the forests and had paid nothing for the privilege. In 1905, in order to remedy

these evils and conserve the resources of the forests, the President caused the Bureau of Forestry to be established. Soon there was a reform in forest management. Thousands of government employees were scattered through the forests to protect them from fires, and to see that the timber was not taken unless it was paid for and that the cattlemen paid for the privilege of grazing. Thus it became plain that the



Irrigating a Young Orchard

national forests were henceforth to be managed for the profit and advantage of the people.

It was in the interest of conservation that President Roosevelt called (in 1908) a conference of the Governors of all the States, the first meeting of the kind in our history. At this remarkable gathering Governors and other prominent men for several days discussed the subject of conservation from almost every point of view. The chief result of the conference was to cause people everywhere to take greater in-

terest in the natural resources of the country and in their conservation.

Warfare Against the Trusts. One of the reasons why President Roosevelt was liked by the people was that he waged a legal war against the Trusts. You remember that in 1890 the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed to check the growth of these industrial giants (p. 393). But their growth was not checked. Indeed, as the years passed they grew stronger and stronger. President Roosevelt found that the Steel Trust was controlling three fourths of the iron and steel industry; that the Sugar Trust was selling nine tenths of the sugar; that the Standard Oil Trust was refining three fourths of all the oil; that a Paper Trust was making three fourths of all the paper. In fact, he found that "big business" had not been brought under control and that monopoly was marching on to victory after victory.

So the President determined that his law officers should move against the Trusts, and move against them in earnest. It was his purpose to have the Anti-Trust Law obeyed, even if violators of it had to go to jail. He caused suits to be brought in the United States courts against the Beef Trust, — a combination of meat packers, — the Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, and other corporations that he believed were violating the Anti-Trust Act. He did not in all cases succeed in punishing the Trust against which the suit was brought, and some of the cases were not decided while he was President; yet it was his desire to bring offenders to justice. "No suit," he said, "will be undertaken for the sake of seeming to undertake it, and when a suit is undertaken it will not be compromised except on the basis that the government wins." Such words aroused the anger of the "captains of industry," but they pleased the people mightily.

Election of 1908. President Roosevelt was looked upon by the people with such favor that many of his friends thought he ought to be a candidate for reelection in 1908. Yet he himself did not think so. In 1904, when the news came that

he had been elected, he gave out this statement: "On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and one half years, and the three and one half years constitute my first term. The wise custom that limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form. Under no circumstance will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination." This meant that he intended to follow the example set by Washington and Jefferson (p. 193) and refuse another term.

When 1908 came he remained firm in his purpose and refused to be a candidate. So the Republicans nominated William H. Taft of Ohio. The Democrats, for the third time, nominated Mr. Bryan. The Socialists again nominated Mr. Debs. The Republicans declared that the tariff rates ought to be changed, but they failed to say whether the rates ought to be raised or lowered. The Democrats came out strongly against the Trusts, saying that captains of industry who violate the Anti-Trust Act ought to be fined and imprisoned. In the campaign Mr. Bryan was opposed in the East by "big business," while in the West he had to face the great popularity of President Roosevelt who entered the contest personally and fought with all his might for Mr. Taft. The result was a sweeping victory for the Republicans. Taft received 321 electoral votes against 162 for Bryan. Of the popular vote Taft received 7,677,788; Bryan, 6,407,982; Debs, 420,890. Thus in 1908 people voted to keep the Republicans in power four years more.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How was the silver question at last settled?
2. Give an account of the reelection of McKinley and of his death.
3. Sketch the story of President Roosevelt's political career.
4. Give an account of the anthracite coal strike.
5. Tell the story of the Panama Canal.
6. Who were the Presidential candidates in 1904? What was the result of the election?
7. What are the provisions of the Rate Law of 1906? Of the Pure Food Law?

8. What was done, while Roosevelt was President, for the conservation of natural resources?
9. Give an account of the warfare against Trusts.
10. Tell the story of the election of 1908.

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1789, 1812, 1846, 1862, 1865, 1877, 1896, 1898.
2. Persons: Hamilton, Eli Whitney, John Quincy Adams, Clay, Calhoun, Fillmore, Hayes.
3. Tell what you can about: the Whisky Insurrection; the Work of Reconstruction; Alaska; the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Presidents: their Election and Inauguration; Discovery and Exploration; English Colonization; Commerce.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Read in the class: Roosevelt's Inaugural Address: Lane and Hill, 175-177.
 - (2) Theodore Roosevelt on Conservation: A United People, 51-53.
 - (3) Cutting a Hemisphere in Two: A United People, 107-114.
 - (4) The Panama Canal: A United People, 115-124.
 - (5) Corporations and Trusts: Ogg, 58-75.
 - (6) Conservation and Reclamation: Ogg, 96-115.

LVI

THE DAWN OF A NEW CENTURY (*Continued*)

Twentieth Century Progress in Science and Industry.

—When Mr. Taft took his place at the head of the government in March, 1909, the nation was bounding along the road of prosperity at a marvelous speed. How fast we were going is shown in the table below:

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN

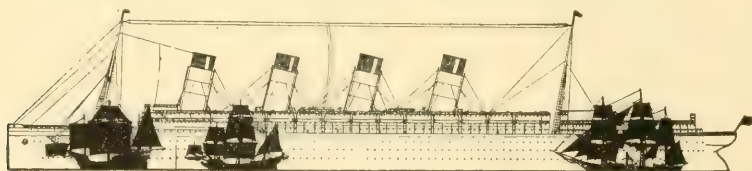
1900 AND 1912

	1900	1912
Population	75,944,575	96,410,503
Wealth	\$88,000,000,000	\$125,000,000,000
Money in circulation.....	2,055,150,000	3,276,786,000
Deposits in savings banks.....	2,458,000,000	5,825,000,000
Value of farms and farm property..	20,400,000,000	40,000,000,000
Value of farm products.....	4,000,000,000	8,000,000,000
Value of manufactured products...	8,000,000,000	20,000,000,000
Value of exports.....	1,394,000,000	2,204,000,000
Value of imports.....	849,900,000	1,653,000,000
Production of petroleum (gallons)	2,672,000,000	9,258,000,000
Production of pig-iron (tons).....	13,789,000	23,649,000
Production of steel (tons).....	10,188,000	23,676,000
Wheat (bushels).....	522,000,000	621,000,000
Corn (bushels).....	2,105,000,000	2,531,000,000
Cotton (bales).....	10,245,000	16,109,000
Railways operated (miles).....	194,000	246,000
Salaries of public-school teachers..\$	137,687,000	\$ 253,915,000
Immigrants arrived.....	448,512	838,173
Urban population.....	31,000,000	42,000,000

Scan this table attentively and mark how our country was advancing in wealth and population and observe the progress made in so many directions. Observe how in a few years the farmers doubled the value both of their farms and of

the things raised on the farm. Notice, too, that the manufacturers more than doubled the value of their output.

Much of the progress was due to new inventions, for never before were inventors busier than they were in the opening years of the twentieth century. In a single year our Patent Office at Washington issued 35,000 patents. Hundreds of these were issued to protect the inventors of new electrical contrivances; for electricity at this time was making wonderful strides. It was being brought into use on a large scale as a motive power in almost every branch of industry. To supply the electrical current the forces of nature were harnessed and put to work; the power generated by the fall of water was transmitted to wires in the form of electricity and carried to distant points. At Niagara a power equal to that of 250,000 horses was generated and distributed to surrounding cities and towns. Even the great Father of Waters was brought under control and compelled to render useful service. For at Keokuk, Iowa, a dam was thrown across the Mississippi and an electric power plant installed capable of generating a current that could be used in places as far away as St. Louis. In the far Northwest electric power for drawing trains was obtained from mountain waterfalls along the route, and on one great railroad steam locomotives were done away with entirely for a distance of two hundred miles.



The *Santa Maria*,
93 feet long.

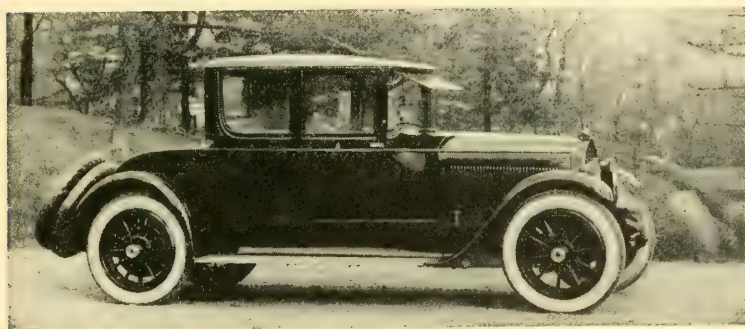
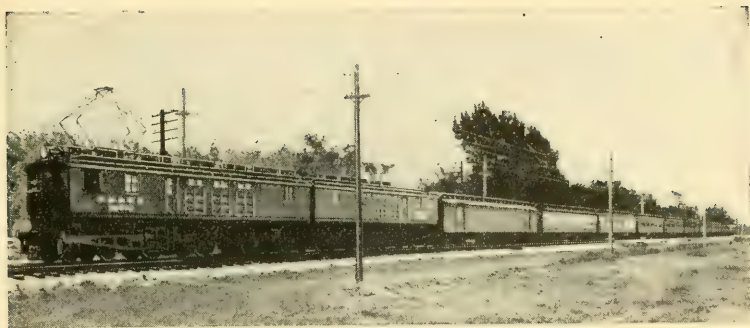
The *Mayflower*,
70 feet long.

The *Lusitania*,
790 feet long.

The *Savannah*,
100 feet long.

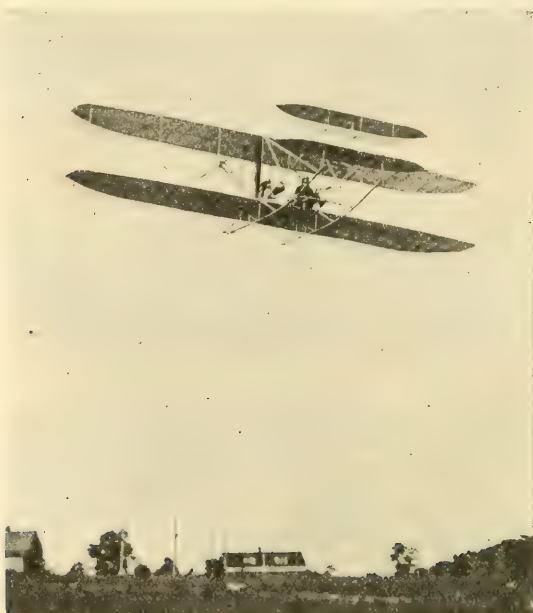
An Ocean Steamship of To-day as Compared with Early Ships

But the most remarkable achievements of this period were in the field of transportation. Here there was progress on sea, on land, and in the air. Ocean liners were built larger and larger, until they reached a length of more than 900 feet and carried burdens weighing in some cases as much as 50,000



Modern Transportation

tons. This was the time, too, when the automobile was coming to the front. At first Americans took but little interest in this new form of locomotive, but about 1900 we began to use automobiles in considerable numbers and by 1913 we



Aëroplane of the Wright Brothers

were making a quarter of a million of them every year. With the automobile came the movement for better roads. In the work of road improvement the national government lent a helping hand, for the Department of Agriculture sent out men to give instruction in the art of road building wherever and whenever such instruction was desired.

The most startling development in transportation was the invention of the flying-machine. In 1896 Professor Langley of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington invented a flying-machine driven by a small steam-engine, and with this strange machine he made a flight of about three fourths of a mile

over the Potomac River. Nine years later an airplane constructed by Orville and Wilbur Wright of Dayton, Ohio, made a successful flight of twenty-four miles. Victories over



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William Howard Taft

Born at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1857; graduated at Yale; admitted to the bar; United States circuit judge, 1892-1900; president United States Philippine Commission, 1900-04; first civil governor of the Philippines, 1901-04; Secretary of War, 1904-08; elected President in 1908.

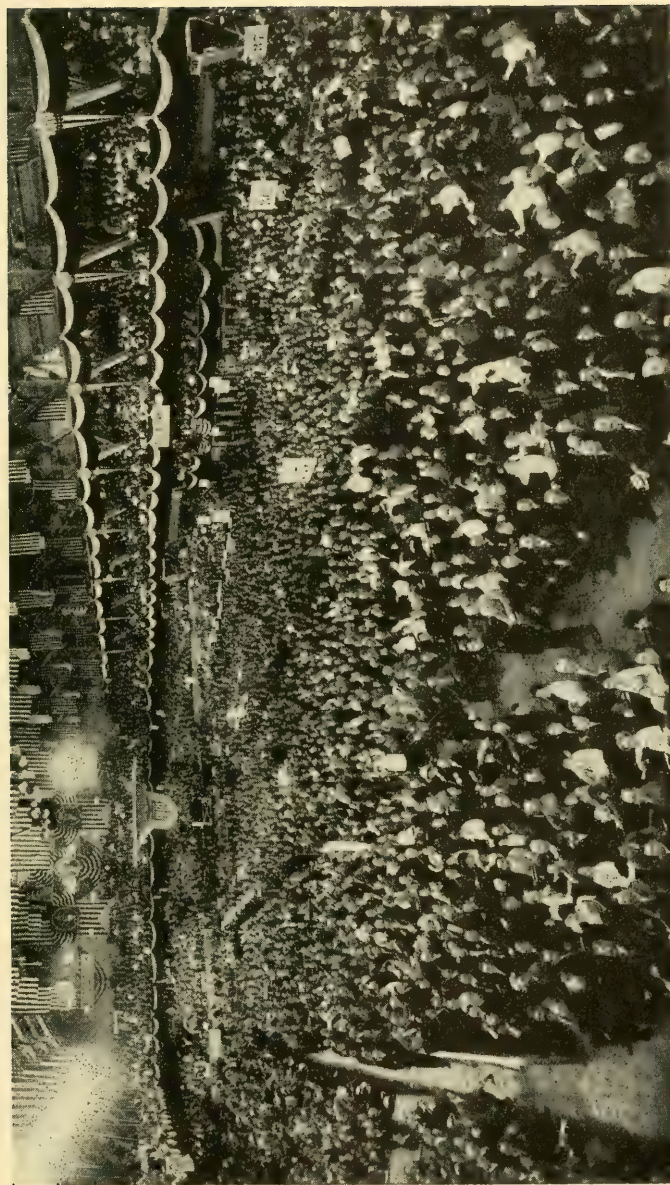
the air now followed each other in quick succession, and did not cease until the conquest was complete.

While the conquest of the air was being made, men at the same time were conquering space. In 1901 William Marconi sent a signal across the Atlantic Ocean without cable or wire

of any kind, and the history of wireless telegraphy began. Soon the entire globe was encircled with a series of wireless stations, and steamships and airplanes were provided with wireless apparatus. By 1913, when a message was flashed from Washington to Paris, the whole earth had become a huge whispering gallery.

Payne Tariff Law. Progress in commerce and industry was matched by progress in matters of government. The progressive policy favored by President Roosevelt continued to be popular throughout the administration of President Taft. During the campaign of 1908 Mr. Taft promised that if elected, he would immediately after his inauguration call an extra session of Congress to consider the subject of tariff revision. In fulfilment of his promise he called the lawmakers together in extra session in March, 1909. They at once took up the tariff question, and after several months of debate passed the Payne Tariff Law. This law, like the Dingley Law (p. 402), continued the policy of protecting American industries. It reduced slightly some of the rates of the Dingley law, but the rates upon the better kinds of cotton goods were raised. The Payne law pleased the manufacturers of the East, but it was a great disappointment to many Western people, who had hoped the tariff would be revised downward and not upward.

Rate Law of 1910. While Mr. Taft was President another important step was taken to bring the railroads more completely under the control of the government. We learned (p. 415) that in 1906 Congress gave the Interstate Commerce Commission power, upon the complaint of the shipper, to do away with a rate charged by a railroad and to fix a new rate. In 1910 Congress went a step further—it was a very long step indeed—and gave the Commission power to make investigations of its own, and, when it finds certain rates unjust, to change them, even though shippers have made no complaint. Moreover, by the law of 1910 new rates may be suspended in their operation by the order of the Commission,



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The Progressive National Convention

and if upon investigation the new rates are found by the Commission to be unjust and unreasonable, they can not go into effect at all. Thus the Commission is given almost complete power over rate-making; it can change any existing rate and it can prevent the charging of a new rate. The railroads, however, may appeal to the courts of the United States, where the decision of the Commission may be overruled.

Postal Savings Bank; Parcel Post. During the Taft administration Congress authorized (1910) the Post-Office Department to establish a system of Postal Savings Banks. These banks are located in the thousands of post-offices scattered over the country. Any person of the age of ten or over may deposit in a postal bank any sum not less than one dollar nor more than five hundred dollars, and receive two per cent interest on the amount deposited. The purpose of the postal savings banks is to encourage habits of thrift among people of small means and to provide for them a place where their savings may be safely kept.

In 1912 Congress also authorized the Post-Office Department to establish a Parcel Post system, whereby packages of considerable weight could be sent through the mails at little cost, the rate to be fixed according to the weight of the package and the distance it was to be carried. The parcel post proved to be very popular, and within a few years after it was established there were carried every year in the mails more than 1,000,000,000 packages.

The Fight Against the Trusts Continues. The fight against the Trusts begun by President Roosevelt (p. 419) was continued by President Taft. In 1906 the government began in the lower national courts a suit against the Standard Oil Company on the ground that it was violating the Anti-Trust Law. After five years of legal warfare the case at last reached the Supreme Court of the United States. This great tribunal decided that the Standard Oil Company must be dissolved; that is, that the several companies that had united to form the Standard Oil Company (p. 384) must separate

and that each company must transact business as an independent concern. A little later the Supreme Court handed down a similar decision in the case of the American Tobacco Company, and that great Trust was dissolved. These decisions were looked upon as being victories over the Trusts, but in reality they did very little to check monopoly or to restore competition. For in many cases the separate company that was torn away from the combination and compelled to act independently was itself a giant. Moreover, in the case of the Standard Oil Company the men who owned the combination were the very men who controlled the independent companies. So, after all, these victories over the Trusts did not amount to much; "big business" continued to flourish as it had been flourishing for thirty years.

Last Events of the Westward Movement. It was in the early years of the twentieth century that the great drama of the westward movement came to an end. In 1907 the admission of Oklahoma (p. 391) as a State was proclaimed by President Roosevelt. When Oklahoma entered the Union it was already a rich and powerful community with a population of nearly 1,500,000. Western development had now extended to New Mexico and Arizona (p. 259), and by 1912 these Territories were ready for Statehood and were admitted. With the admission of New Mexico and Arizona our great sisterhood of forty-eight States was rounded out.

Presidential Election of 1912. When the time came (in 1912) for nominating a candidate for the Republican party, President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, and Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin entered upon a campaign to secure the nomination. Taft was nominated at Chicago (June 22), but Roosevelt asserted that the nomination had been dishonestly secured. Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was nominated (July 2) by the Democrats at Baltimore. On August 7 a new party, known as the Progressive party, met at Chicago and nominated Roosevelt as its candidate. On May 17 Mr. Debs was again nominated by the Socialist party.

The Democrats in their platform declared against a protective tariff, claiming that tariff duties ought to be imposed with the view of raising revenue, not with the view of protecting manufacturers. The Republicans, as always, declared for the protective system, but promised to reduce any duties that might be too high. The Progressives demanded "immediate downward revision of those schedules where duties are shown to be unjust or excessive." The Socialists declared that the government ought to own and operate the railroads, the Trusts, the banks, and the mines; that children under sixteen years of age ought not to be employed in industries; that the Constitution of the United States ought to be revised; and that women ought to be allowed to vote on equal terms with men.

The campaign of 1912 was an exciting one, but there was little doubt as to what the outcome of the election would be. For when Mr. Roosevelt entered the field as a candidate every one believed that he would draw enough votes from the Republican party to defeat its candidate. And that is what happened: Mr. Taft was defeated. Of the 531 electoral votes Wilson received 435, Roosevelt 88, and Taft 8. The popular vote was 6,293,019 for Wilson, 4,119,507 for Roosevelt, 3,484,956 for Taft, and 901,873 for Debs. Thus the Republican party went down in defeat, and the Democrats, after having been out of office for sixteen years, returned to power. Mr. Wilson was inaugurated in March, 1913.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. State some of the main facts concerning our progress between 1900 and 1912, basing your statements on the table found on page 421.
2. What were some of the important achievements at this time in electricity? In transportation?
3. Give an account of the Payne Tariff.
4. Describe fully the Rate Law of 1910.
5. Give an account of Postal Savings Banks and of the Parcel Post.
6. Describe the warfare against the Trusts.
7. What were the last events in the westward movement?
8. Give a full account of the Presidential election of 1912.

LVII

SOCIAL BETTERMENT AND POLITICAL REFORM

In the last two chapters an account was given of the progress made in national affairs in the early years of the twentieth century. During these years great progress was also made in social and political matters that were not always closely connected with national affairs but which were of the greatest importance in the life of the American people. In this chapter, therefore, we shall have an account of the remarkable social and political progress made by our people in the early years of the twentieth century.

Progress in Education. We learned that in the Eighties a public-school system was in operation in every State (p. 368) and that educational matters were in a flourishing condition. The cause of popular education grew stronger year by year; more school-houses were built, more teachers were employed, and more pupils were enrolled. When the twentieth century dawned we had one of the finest educational systems in the world. In 1900 there was in our public schools a mighty army of 15,000,000 pupils; twenty years later the number had jumped to 20,000,000. And our schools were all the time improving; better school-houses were built and better teachers were employed. Teachers were trying to make the schools more practical and useful. In the past the chief aim of the teacher had been to train the pupil's *mind*, but now the schools began to train the *hand* as well as the mind. In many cities vocational schools were established, and boys and girls were fitted for some form of useful manual labor, either in the home or on the farm or in the shop. Thus the schools began to send out armies of useful workers trained for the industrial warfare in which the progressive nations of the world were engaged.

Besides training the mind and the hand, schools also undertook the training of the body. It was seen that if our men and women are to be physically fit they must be made physically fit in childhood. Accordingly, in many schools physical training was introduced, several hours a week being given to athletics. In several States, as in New York, New



Sewing Class in the Washington Irving High School

Jersey, Rhode Island, and Maryland, physical education was made compulsory, and it seemed that public opinion would in time demand that physical education be required in all American schools.

It was not only in the school-room that popular education was flourishing, for knowledge was now being spread broadcast over the land, and millions of grown people were receiving the benefits of new agencies of instruction. In cities free lecture courses were instituted, and large audiences listened to lectures on literature, politics, history, and science. In the country the rural free delivery service brought the daily

newspaper to millions of farmers and country folk who in former years did not enjoy the educational benefits that come with the reading of a newspaper every day. The magazine as well as the newspaper was doing its part in the education of the masses; for during these years popular magazines were increasing in number and their circulation was counted by the



Children's Room in a Carnegie Library

millions. Then the university extension, the Chautauqua circle, and the correspondence school reached hundreds of thousands of grown people and started them on the road of the higher education.

But the most useful educational agency outside of the school was the public library. At the opening of the nineteenth century free public libraries were few indeed; but a hundred years later almost every city and town had a collection of books that could be used by readers without cost. Andrew Carnegie gave a large portion of his immense fortune (p. 386) to the establishment of free public libraries, and by 1920 there were nearly three thousand Carnegie libraries furnishing reading matter to millions who could not afford to buy books.

In some States traveling libraries, provided at public expense, were sent from community to community.

The Rule of the People. Progress in education led to progress in matters of government. For when the young citizens who had studied American history and civil government in the schools grew to manhood they knew it was their right and their duty to take part in public affairs. The result was that the people became more completely the masters of their government. Their control over government was gained in many States by the use of the political device known as the *Initiative and Referendum*. This device gives voters the power to participate personally in the making of laws; it enables them to secure a law that they want, and to vote down a law that they do not want. In 1898 the Initiative and Referendum was adopted in South Dakota, and by 1916 it had been brought into use in Maine, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, Arkansas, Montana, Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, Oklahoma, and California.

In several of the States that adopted the Initiative and Referendum another device, known as the *Recall*, was also adopted. The Recall gives the people complete control over the officers whom they have elected; for where this device is brought into use an officer by a popular vote may be deprived of (recalled from) his office at any time. Among the States that adopted the recall were Michigan, Kansas, Louisiana, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, and California. In some of these States, however, the Recall did not apply to judges.

Another reform that strengthened the rule of the people was the adoption of a system of nominating party candidates by a direct vote. For nearly a hundred years candidates had been nominated by a Convention system; that is, the voters of the party elected delegates to a Convention and this Convention nominated the candidates. But in the early years of the twentieth century the people began to nominate candi-

dates by *direct vote*; and soon, in most of the States, the Convention system was done away with and a system of direct nomination was accepted.

Still another reform that helped to bring government under the direct control of the people was a change in the method of electing United States Senators. From the time the Constitution was adopted until the year 1912, Senators were elected by the State legislatures (p. 157). But by the opening of the twentieth century it was found that this plan did not work well. So in 1912 the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted. This amendment took the election of Senators away from the legislatures and gave the voters of the State the right to elect them.



Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.
A leader in the Woman's
Suffrage Movement.

But the most important political reform of the period was the one that gave women the right to vote. Women in great numbers were going out into the industrial and professional world and were earning their living side by side with men, and they felt that they ought to be allowed to vote on equal terms with men. So they began to demand for themselves the right of suffrage. Their claims were listened to and in many States the doors of the polling-booth were thrown open to women. Four States — Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho — granted the suffrage to women in the latter years of the nineteenth century. In the early years of the twentieth century, California, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas were added to the list of States that had granted the suffrage to women on equal terms with men; and by 1918 Montana, Nevada, Michigan, Oklahoma, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, and New York had also taken their places among the equal suffrage States.

Better Laws for the People. While the people were making themselves the masters of their government, they were at



Miss Janette Rankin. The First Woman
Elected to Congress

the same time demanding better laws for themselves. They especially demanded laws that would improve the conditions of workmen and their families. Since laws of this kind must in most cases come from the State (p. 151), it was to the governments of the different States that the workingmen appealed for justice. They seldom appealed in vain, for in almost every State

something was done to protect the interests of the workingmen. In many States Employer's Liability Laws were passed. These laws provided that workmen who were injured while at work should receive a certain compensation while suffering from their injuries.

For example, in several of the States it was provided that when a workman meets with an accident the employer must supply necessary first aid, including medical, surgical, and hospital services, and that for a certain length of time the workman must be paid half of his earnings. When the employee meets with an accident that results in his death, his heirs must be paid a sum of several thousand dollars.

In addition to the Employer's Liability Laws there was also enacted in some of the States, for the benefit of workmen, a

Minimum Wage Law. This law fixes the lowest wage that it is lawful for an employer to give. When fixing the minimum wage the legislature aims to give the workingmen sufficient pay to enable him to live in a decent and comfortable manner.

But the best laws enacted during these years were those forbidding the employment of children too young to work. For during the period that we are now studying a vigorous warfare against child labor was waged in almost every State, with the result that few States failed to pass laws making it unlawful for children under fourteen to be employed in factories. //

Better Government for Cities. Another reform movement of this period related to the government of cities. We saw that long before the end of the nineteenth century we had ceased to be a nation of farmers and that a large proportion of our people were living in cities (p. 370). This proportion grew larger and larger, and at the opening of the twentieth century more than one third of the entire population had gathered in cities and towns. By 1910 we had about 100 cities that contained more than 50,000 inhabitants each and about 30 that contained more than 200,000 each.

But, while our cities were growing at a rapid rate, many of them were being governed in a very bad manner. In fact, there was so much dishonesty and bad management in city affairs that in many places it was thought best to change the old form of the city government and establish a new form known as the Commission plan. Under this plan great power was given to a small group of men—usually five commissioners or councilmen—elected by the whole body of voters within the city, without regard to the interests of any political party. The commission plan worked so well that it grew rapidly in favor, and in the course of a few years it was adopted by more than 400 cities. In a number of places the *city manager* plan was adopted. Under this plan the commission (or council) appoints an officer known as the city

manager, who is charged with the entire responsibility of managing the affairs of the city; the commission (or council) makes the laws for the city and the city manager carries the laws into effect.

Social Betterment. Not only by means of laws and through the action of government were social reforms undertaken. Thousands of earnest workers in a private way took up the work of social betterment with a view to making the world a better place in which to live. Lovers of peace joined in a movement which they hoped would lead to permanent peace among all the nations of the earth. The peace movement was greatly assisted by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who gave \$10,000,000 to an institution whose members were to work in the



A Social Service Worker Instructing Children

cause of peace and try to persuade nations to settle their disputes without going to war.

In the movement for social betterment the poor and unfortunate were not forgotten. In almost every city there was organized a charity society, which extended help to the poor

and at the same time encouraged them to help themselves. Nor were the sick and disabled forgotten. For in the opening years of the twentieth century rich men began to give their money for building and maintaining hospitals, Mr. John



A Community Center

D. Rockefeller alone contributing more than \$10,000,000 for this purpose. Soon these homes for the sick were numbered by the thousands and in almost every community the sick could be cared for in a hospital at a reasonable rate. In the city of New York alone there were in 1913 more than 100 hospitals. In many places the work of the hospital was greatly extended by visiting nurses, who went among the poor and gave practical instruction in the art of nursing. The Red Cross Society also increased its membership and joined in administering to the needs of those who suffered in war or disease or as a result of fire or the forces of nature.

In the work of social betterment the boys of the country lent a helping hand. All over the country the Boy Scout movement gained strength, and hundreds of thousands of manly boys took upon themselves the obligations imposed by the Scouts' vow: "On my honor, I will do my best to do

my duty to God and my country, and to obey the scout law; to help other people at all times; to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight."

The Community Center. Earnest efforts were made not only to improve the government of cities, but to elevate and enrich the social life of the city. Community centers were established for the purpose of bringing the residents of a city close together and making them better neighbors. This was a worthy and noble purpose, for in the modern city people often are not as good neighbors as they ought to be. Too often in a large city the neighborhood spirit is entirely lacking, and many a person passes his life in the midst of strangers, not knowing even the names of those who live next door. So in hundreds of cities the people were encouraged to meet in a neighborly way at the community center. In most cases the meeting place was the school-house. Here the neighbors—grown people as well as children—met and discussed public affairs, voted upon questions of interest to the neighborhood, heard lectures, listened to good music, danced, played, and engaged in other activities. In a few cities school-houses were constructed according to plans that especially fitted them for use as centers of recreation and social improvement. For example, in one city there was built a high school which, besides providing for the needs of teaching, had a large auditorium, a gymnasium, a swimming-pool, and a bowling-alley.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give a full account of the progress that was made in educational matters in the early years of the twentieth century.
2. Give the history of the following political reforms: the initiative and referendum; the recall; direct nominations; election of United States Senators; woman suffrage.
3. What important laws were enacted for improving the conditions of workingmen?
4. Give an account of the growth of our city population at this time. What reforms were made in city government at the time?
5. What were some of the things done in a private way for social betterment?
6. For what purpose were community centers established?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1620, 1803, 1825, 1861, 1877, 1896, 1898, 1904.
2. Persons: Magellan, Franklin, Fulton, McCormick, Blaine, Harrison, Carnegie.
3. Tell what you can about: the Patroons; the Ordinance of 1787; the Louisiana Purchase.
4. Reviews of Great Subjects: Education; Government; Great Inventions.
5. Reading References:
 - (1) Civic Improvement: A United People, 160-178.
 - (2) Peace *versus* War: A United People, 179-187.
 - (3) Democracy and Responsibility in Government: Ogg, 147-166.
 - (4) The Women of To-Day: Bruce, 224-253.

LVIII

IMPORTANT LAWS; INTERNATIONAL TROUBLES

When Mr. Wilson took his place at the head of the government the principal reforms described in the last chapter had been accomplished, and many of the movements for social betterment had gained considerable headway. In harmony with the spirit of the times, the new President proved to be a champion of progressive measures, and during his administration an unusual number of useful laws were passed by Congress. But Congress and the President were not allowed to give all their time to home affairs, for they were called upon to face serious international troubles.

Underwood Tariff; Income-Tax Law. When President Wilson delivered his Inaugural Address — March, 1913 — he told his hearers that three things ought to be done as speedily as possible. First, the tariff ought to be revised; second, the banking and currency system ought to be reorganized and reformed; third, the Trusts ought to be brought under a control so strict that they would no longer be able to stifle competition.

In order that the tariff question might be taken up at once, President Wilson on April 7 assembled Congress in extra session. On the following day he read his message in person to the two Houses of Congress assembled in joint session. He told Congress that the existing tariff was doing harm to American industry, and advised the law-makers to lower the rates. Congress, responding to his wishes, passed the Underwood Tariff. This law reduced the rates on nearly a thousand articles, the duties on woolen goods being placed far below what they were under the Payne tariff (p. 426). Raw wool was allowed to come in free of duty, and sugar also was put on the free list.

The rates of the Underwood law were fixed so low that the law-makers did not expect that the new tariff would raise revenue sufficient to meet the expenses of the Government. So Congress, in order to secure additional revenue, made use of the power granted by the Sixteenth Amendment (p. 491) and imposed a national income tax. A tax of 1 per cent. was imposed upon the income of every citizen of the United States. In computing the tax, however, a deduction of \$3000 was made in the case of a single person and a deduction of \$4000 in the case of a married person. The law also placed an additional tax upon incomes of \$20,000 or more, increasing the rate of taxation as the income increased. Thus, after many years of agitation, an income tax, one of the fairest and most just of all taxes, began to be collected from people who could well afford to help in the support of the national government.

Federal Reserve Act. President Wilson was as anxious to reform the currency system as he was to reform the tariff. There were good reasons why the system should be reformed. The money of the country was flowing in great streams into a few centers like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, with the result that a few bankers were getting



Woodrow Wilson

possession of a large portion of the currency and were charging interest rates that were too high. Moreover, there was no method of regulating the supply of money in a manner to meet the needs of business. So in June, 1913, the President asked Congress for a law that would have the effect of distributing the currency more evenly over the country, and that would also provide a method by which the supply of money could be regulated. In response Congress passed the Federal Reserve Act.

The Federal Reserve Act created a Federal Reserve Board—consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and of five members appointed by the President—and provided that the United States be marked off geographically into twelve districts, and a Federal Reserve Bank be established in one of the cities in each district. The cities in which Federal Reserve Banks were established are Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Atlanta, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, (Mo.), Dallas, and San Francisco. Under the workings of the new law large sums of money that formerly found their way to New York and Chicago ceased to flow to these centers; for a certain portion of the currency in each federal reserve district was no longer allowed to pass outside the borders of that district. That is to say, each of the federal reserve districts was made a money-tight compartment from which a certain amount of currency was not allowed to flow. The new law also provided that the Federal Reserve Banks might from time to time make such additions to the currency as business conditions might require; but such additional currency could not be issued without the approval of the Federal Reserve Board.

Clayton Trust Law; Federal Trade Commission. A few weeks after the new currency law was passed, President Wilson appeared before Congress and asked for a law that would enable the government to deal with the Trusts in an effective manner. For, as we have already learned (p. 429), the Sher-

man Anti-Trust Law had failed to check the Trusts in their onward march toward monopoly. Congress responded to the President's request by passing (in 1914) the Clayton Trust Law. The purpose of this law is to strengthen the Sherman law. The Clayton law aims to check monopoly by compelling business concerns to compete fairly with one another. It prevents any company from making different prices to the purchasers of its goods whenever such discrimination lessens competition or tends to create a monopoly. It forbids the *interlocking* of business concerns; directors in certain classes of corporations are not allowed to serve as directors in corporations engaged in the same kind of business. It declares *unfair* methods of competition to be unlawful.

In order that there might be officers to carry the Clayton law into effect, Congress created the Federal Trade Commission, a body composed of five members appointed by the President. When the Commission finds that a person or a corporation is using *unfair* methods of competition, it may order the offender to desist; and, if the order is not obeyed, the offender is liable to be brought into a court, and if the court finds him to be guilty of *unfair* practices he must desist from such practices or he will be punished.

Trouble with Mexico. While Congress was engaged in making these important laws, our government was all the time wrestling with serious international problems. First there was the Mexican problem. Trouble between Mexico and the United States began even before President Wilson was inaugurated. In February, 1913, Francisco Madero, the President of Mexico, having been killed in a secret and brutal manner, General Victoriana Huerta was proclaimed President of the Mexican Republic. Ought Huerta to be recognized by our government? This question President Taft declined to answer, preferring to leave the matter to his successor. President Wilson decided that Huerta was not the rightful President of Mexico, and refused to recognize him as such, declaring that the man was not worthy of respect.

A great many people in Mexico also refused to accept Huerta as President and rose in revolt against his authority. The leaders of the revolution were Venustiano Carranza and Francisco Villa. There was a great deal of fighting, and very soon the United States became seriously involved in the Mexican difficulty. American citizens living in Mexico were killed and their property destroyed. In the spring of 1914 several sailors belonging to our navy were arrested by the followers of Huerta at Tampico and were roughly treated. Demands for reparation were made, and, since these were not fully complied with, President Wilson sent our fleet against Vera Cruz and the city was quickly captured. It was held until November, 1914, when our troops sailed away. In the meanwhile President Wilson was pursuing what he called a policy of "watchful waiting." He kept a watchful eye upon American interests in Mexico and waited patiently for the revolution to run its course. In the summer of 1915 Huerta was overthrown and Carranza seized the reins of government.

But this did not end the trouble; for in March, 1916, Villa, who had been one of Carranza's generals, but had turned against his chief, led a band of outlaws across the Mexican border into New Mexico and killed nine American citizens. American troops were now quickly sent into Mexico to capture Villa and his band and punish them for their deeds. But Villa escaped and the American troops in Mexico accomplished little. Although Carranza could not wholly put down lawlessness, he nevertheless gradually acquired strength as a ruler, and his government gradually found favor in the eyes of President Wilson. In the autumn of 1917 Carranza was formally recognized by the United States as the rightful President of the Mexican Republic.

Trouble with Germany. But it was not our next-door neighbor at the South that gave us the most anxiety. Our greatest trouble came from across the sea. In August, 1914, Germany, in violation of a treaty, marched her troops into

Belgium and began a war that set the world on fire. Soon Germany, Austria, and Turkey were fighting against Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Serbia, and Russia. Great Britain with her powerful navy soon drove all the surface fighting-ships of Germany from the waters. But the Germans could still use their submarines, and did use them in the most cruel and merciless manner. In May, 1915, a German submarine attacked the *Lusitania*, a British merchantman, and, without warning, sent the great liner to the bottom of the sea, and nearly twelve hundred innocent persons were drowned. Of those who lost their lives more than one hundred were American citizens.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* was one of the most cruel acts ever committed by a civilized nation, and it caused every mercy-loving heart in the world to thrill with horror. And it was a lawless act. For, according to the rules of international law, Germany had no right to sink a merchant-ship without first giving warning and providing for the safety of persons on board. The sinking of the *Lusitania*, therefore, was a violation of American rights. So our government was bound to call Germany to account for her conduct.

President Wilson informed the German government that if German submarines should sink any more merchant-ships without warning and thereby take the lives of more Americans, the government of the United States would hold the German government responsible for the injuries done to American citizens. The President did not want war, and the country at this time doubtless did not want it; but Americans demanded that their rights be upheld. For a time Germany paid little attention to the words of the President or to the desires of the American people; for her submarines continued to sink merchant-vessels without warning, with the result that more American lives were lost.

After trying for nearly a year to secure from Germany a promise that she would respect American rights, but trying in vain, President Wilson at last (April, 1916) told the Ger-

man government that it must order the commanders of its submarines to sink no merchantmen without first providing for the safety of the persons on board, and said flatly that if Germany failed to do this the government of the United States would have nothing more to do with the German government. Germany now yielded and promised to conduct her submarine warfare in the manner demanded by the President. When she made this promise, however, she at the same time made a statement to the effect that if any of the nations with which she was at war should disobey the rules of international law she would then be facing a new situation and would feel free to act in accordance with her own judgment. President Wilson accepted Germany's promise, but he made it clear



Road Building

that whatever another nation might do in the future would not affect in the slightest degree the action of the American government: if Germany should again violate American rights she would be held responsible for her conduct, no matter what another nation might do. With this acceptance of Ger-

many's promise, our country, which for nearly a year had been in a state of great excitement, began to grow more quiet; for it seemed to most of our people that the President had upheld our rights and at the same time kept us out of war.

Important Laws. While the war in Europe was raging, our thoughts were chiefly directed to foreign affairs. Nevertheless we did not neglect wholly our home affairs. Indeed, during the Great War some very important laws were passed. Among these was the Federal Aid Road Act. This measure gave the helping hand of the national government to the good roads movement which was carried forward so rapidly after the appearance of the automobile (p. 424). The law provided that \$75,000,000 should be spent by the government for the improvement of the highways of the country. The money was to be divided among the States on the threefold basis of area, population, and mileage of rural delivery routes.

Farmers in all parts of the country were thankful for the Rural Credits Law. Under the provision of this law there was established a system of Farm Loan Banks, at which farmers might borrow money needed for certain purposes connected with the occupation of farming. At these new banks the farmers could borrow money at a low rate of interest and pay off their debt, both principal and interest, in fixed small sums.

The trading world was greatly interested in the law that created a Shipping Board, composed of five commissioners appointed by the President. This board was established for the purpose of building up our merchant marine. Before the Civil War we had one of the finest and largest merchant marines in the world; but during that war so many of our trading-vessels had been swept from the seas (p. 325) that by the time the struggle was over our merchant fleet was practically gone. After the Civil War for nearly fifty years we depended upon foreign ships to carry abroad the products of our factories and fields. But after the Shipping Board was

established (in 1916) our merchant marine began to grow. It was made the duty of the Board to build, buy, or lease ships suitable for the ocean trade, and it went about its task in earnest. When three years had passed it had built more than a thousand fine vessels and was carrying ship-building forward on such an enormous scale that there was every indication that the United States would soon again lead all nations in the ocean carrying trade.

Another law of great importance was the Federal Eight-Hour Act. This measure was hurried through Congress in the summer of 1916 in order to prevent a strike that threatened to tie up the railroads of the country. The trainmen employed on the railroads and their employers had been disputing for a long time about hours and wages, but could come to no agreement. So, late in August, President Wilson took a hand in the matter. He summoned the leaders of the trainmen and the managers of the railroads to Washington, and addressed them, pointing out to them the disastrous results that would follow in the wake of a strike and appealing to them to come to an agreement. But no agreement was reached. The leaders of the trainmen went on with their plans for a strike, sending out an order that after seven o'clock on the morning of September 4 no trains would be run. Then President Wilson quickly went before Congress and informed that body that he had been assured by the leaders of the trainmen that they would be satisfied with an eight-hour day, and if that were granted there would be no strike. So with whip and spur an eight-hour law was hurried through Congress and was signed by the President a few hours before the threatened strike was to go into effect. The strike was called off and the country was saved from a labor war that might have been almost as disastrous as real war.

But more important than any of the laws mentioned above was the National Defense Act. From the beginning of our national life until the outbreak of the Great War it had been our policy to maintain in times of peace a small standing army.

But no sooner had the cannon begun to roar in 1914 than there arose in the United States a sentiment for greater preparedness, and the sentiment gained strength with each succeeding month. In December, 1915, President Wilson urged



Candidate Hughes Addressing People in the Campaign of 1916

upon Congress the necessity of raising a large army and navy. Congress, agreeing with the President, gave him a fighting force whose total peace strength—including the troops of the National Guard and those of the Regular Army—was about 650,000 men and 28,000 officers, an army vastly larger than America ever dreamed of having in times of peace. Money was appropriated also for increasing the navy to a size which at the time seemed dazzling in its bigness.¹

Election of 1916. While Congress was struggling with the railroad strike question and with the measures of prepared-

¹ As a further measure of preparedness the United States in the spring of 1917 purchased from Denmark the Danish West Indies (now known as the Virgin Islands). These islands were secured in order that they might serve as a naval station and as a base for naval supplies.



The Virgin Islands

ness, a Presidential election was drawing near. When the time came in 1916 for the Democrats to choose a candidate, they nominated President Wilson for a second term. The Republicans nominated Charles E. Hughes of New York. The Progressive party (p. 429) had by this time crumbled to pieces. In the election of 1916, however, many of the leading Progressives supported Mr. Hughes. The Socialists this year nominated Allan L. Benson of New York. Mr. Wilson received 274 electoral votes, and Mr. Hughes 257.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Give an account of the Underwood Tariff and of the Income Tax Law of 1913.
2. Why, by 1913, had it become necessary to reform the currency system? Give a full account of the Federal Reserve Act.
3. What were the main provisions of the Clayton Trust Act? What service is rendered by the Federal Trade Commission?
4. Give an account of the trouble with Mexico.
5. What was the cause of the trouble which arose between Germany and the United States in 1915? How was the trouble settled?
6. Give an account of the Federal Aid Road Act; of the Rural

Credits Act; of the Federal Eight-Hour Act; of the National Defense Act of 1916.

7. Who were the Presidential candidates in 1916? What was the result of the election?

REVIEWS AND READING REFERENCES

1. Dates: 1492, 1607, 1664, 1776, 1803, 1825, 1860, 1908.

2. Persons: Roger Williams, La Salle, Daniel Boone, Hamilton, Horace Mann, Stephen A. Douglas.

3. Tell what you can about: the Pilgrims; the Declaration of Independence; the Stamp Act; the Treason of Benedict Arnold; the Whisky Insurrection.

4. Reviews of Great Subjects: The Tariff; Foreign Relations since 1789; Wars since 1789; Presidents: their Election and Inauguration.

5. Reading References:

(1) The Mexican Trouble: Ogg, 284-304.

(2) Neutral Rights: Ogg, 305-320.

(3) Preparedness and the Approval of War: Ogg, 384-399.

LIX

WAR

In the last chapter we learned that our government tried to keep our country out of the Great War, and that in the summer of 1916 it was quite generally believed that our efforts for peace had been successful. But as the weeks and months passed men could see that events were hurrying us into the strife. In the spring of 1917 peace was found to be impossible, and our nation buckled on the sword to take part in the greatest war ever fought in all the history of mankind.

Germany Renews Her Attacks upon American Vessels.

— When President Wilson entered upon his second term the United States was drifting rapidly toward war. Late in January, 1917, Germany informed the world that within a large area of the sea surrounding the British Islands the vessels of neutrals would be sunk by her submarines without warning. Promptly on February 1 she began to make good her threat. Merchantman after merchantman went down, and commerce suffered greater disasters than at any time since the war began. Two American vessels were sunk. This, of course, was more than our government could endure. President Wilson at once sent the German Ambassador home, and asked Congress for authority to arm American vessels in order that they might be prepared to defend themselves against the German submarines. In addressing Congress he used these words: "I request that you will authorize me to supply the merchant-ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits upon the seas." This meant that the President intended that our merchantmen

should be prepared to make their way to the ports for which they were headed, submarines or no submarines.

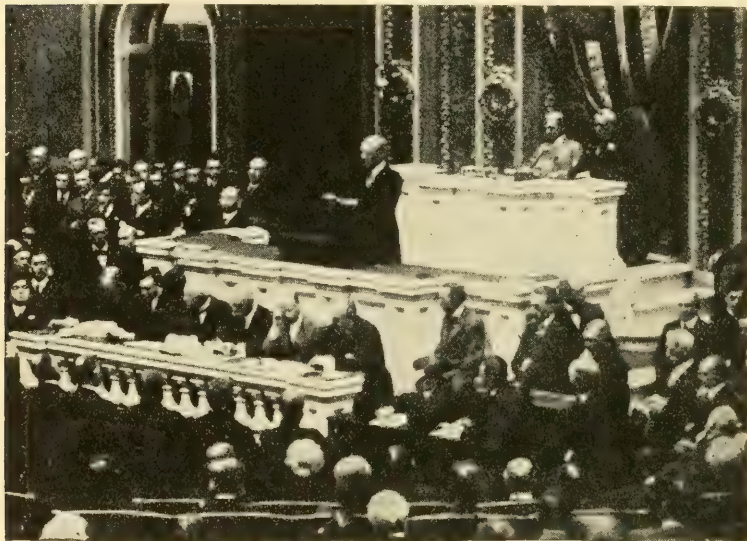
While the House of Representatives was considering a bill that provided for the arming of merchantmen, a piece of startling information came to light. It was announced that Germany was planning to join with Japan and Mexico in an attack upon our country, and that in the event of success Mexico, as a reward for her assistance, was to receive the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas! The reward that Japan was to receive was not stated, but it was generally supposed that her share would be the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and possibly California.

When the news of this bold plan was made public the country was dumfounded. There was an outburst of resentment equal to that which was shown when the *Lusitania* was sunk. On every side cries for war were heard, and a loud demand was made upon Congress to hasten the passage of a bill giving the President the power for which he asked. The House responded in double-quick fashion within a few hours after the plans of Germany were made known, and passed a bill authorizing the President to arm American merchant-vessels. In the Senate, however, the bill was delayed by a small group of Senators who were opposed to it, and when the life of the Congress came to an end, on March 4, no vote on the Armed Ship Bill had been taken. Had a vote been taken, however, the bill would certainly have passed by an overwhelming majority.

The Call to Arms. The failure of the Armed Ship Bill did nothing to check the movement toward war. Germany was sinking American ships and taking American lives, and as long as she continued to do this it was useless to talk of peace. President Wilson, having abandoned all hope of peace, and having come to the conclusion that the sending out of armed ships was not enough, on April 2 went before Congress and asked that body to draw the sword against the German government, on the ground that Germany had drawn her sword

not only against the United States but against the whole world. He asked Congress to take immediate steps to put this country in a more thorough state of defense and to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

"It is a fearful thing," he said, "to lead this great peace-



President Wilson Giving His War Message to Congress

ful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free people as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her

blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and the blessings and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

The President's message was a trumpet-call to arms, and was justly regarded as an utterance worthy to rank with the messages of Washington and Lincoln. Congress responded to the call in a whole-hearted manner and with remarkable promptness. By April 6 both branches had declared for war. The vote in the House stood 373 for war and 50 against; in the Senate the vote was 82 for and 6 against. And the whole country responded to the President's call, for it felt with him that the German government was threatening the peace and liberty of the world, and that its power must be broken.

Throwing the Strength of the Nation Against the Foe.

When we entered the war we realized fully that we had before us a stupendous task. The entire strength of a mighty nation had to be thrown against an enemy that was fighting on battlefields that lay across an ocean three thousand miles in width. At the outset it was clear that four things must be done as quickly as possible: ships of our navy must be despatched with all swiftness to the scene where the German submarines were operating; food had to be supplied to France, Italy, and Great Britain in as large quantities as possible; money in large sums had to be furnished to the governments of all the countries that were fighting on our side; and an armed force had to be hurried to Flanders and France.

The progress made in the accomplishment of these tasks was truly wonderful. In less than two months our torpedo-boat destroyers were in British waters fighting the deadly submarines. The shipment of goods was carried forward with amazing success. Never in the history of this or any other country had food supplies been sent out in such quantities as were exported from American ports in the last days of May. The furnishing of money was not such a difficult task, for we were the richest nation in the world. Soon our financial machine was in working order, and American money was

flowing in great streams into the treasuries of the Allies. First and last, we lent them about \$10,000,000,000.

The fourth task, the sending abroad of an armed force, was the most difficult one. Our regular army was small, and it seemed that a year must pass before a great body of troops could be trained and sent abroad. But when in March General Joffre came to America and told us that France needed troops, and needed them at once, President Wilson remembered the services of Lafayette and decided that General Pershing, with about 25,000 men, should be promptly despatched for duty on the fighting line in France.

But the number of soldiers in the regular army — hardly



Young Men Waiting Their Turn to Register Under the Selective Draft Act

100,000 — was but a mere handful when compared with the number that would be needed. For it was estimated, that, if Germany was to be conquered, half a million, perhaps a million, men would have to be sent to France. How was such an immense body of soldiers to be raised? Many of our citizens thought that the President should call for *volunteers*,

as President Lincoln had done at the outbreak of the Civil War (p. 304). But Congress, taking a different view of the matter, determined to raise the army by draft or conscription (p. 338). In May it passed the Selective Draft Act, which provided that, on a day to be named by the President, there should be a general registration of all young men who had reached their twenty-first birthday but who had not reached their thirty-first birthday, the purpose of this registration being to secure an enrolment of names from which to draft



Working for the American Red Cross

soldiers for the army that was to be used in the war against Germany.

June 5 was named for the day of registration, and on that day all our young men within the stated ages, the married and unmarried, the foreigners and native-born Americans, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, were registered. From ocean to ocean, and from Canada to Mexico, young men to the number of nearly 10,000,000 entered registration offices in tens of thousands of communities, and there enrolled for service in the war. Thus the machinery of conscription was set in motion. In July about 700,000 men were selected from those who had registered in June. These were organized as a National Army. From time to time additional men were drafted, and the size of the National Army went on increasing until it reached nearly 4,000,000.

Helping Uncle Sam. In the work of carrying on the war vast numbers of people who were in no way connected with the government stepped forward and gave their services to Uncle Sam, without pay and without hope of reward. When Liberty Loans amounting to many billions of dollars were asked for, thousands of bankers and newspapers and orators joined in making appeals to the people to lend their money with the result that they offered to lend more than had been asked for. When the Red Cross asked for a gift of \$100,000,000, men and women all over the country, knowing that the money would be spent in aiding Uncle Sam's soldiers, took up the work of raising the fund, and quickly the sum asked for was collected.

Then there was the Council of National Defense, whose purpose was to place at the disposal of the President anything and everything that would aid him to win the war. This council consisted of nearly a thousand prominent persons, business men, railroad presidents, university professors, labor leaders, social workers, inventors, physicians. More than a hundred members of the council gave their entire time to war work without receiving a cent of pay. "Foremost among those who rendered distinguished service were Mr. Herbert Hoover, who administered the law providing for food conservation; Mr. H. A. Garfield, who served as fuel administrator; and Mr. Samuel Gompers, who used to great advantage his influence as a leader of workingmen (p. 387). The women of the country also came forward to do their "bit," and nothing could be worthy of more praise and admiration than the devotion and loyalty shown by the American women during the war."/>

Training the Boys and Taking them Overseas. While our patriotic citizens were helping Uncle Sam in this whole-hearted manner, the officers of the Army and Navy were giving all their energies to the training of the boys and taking them overseas. As a rule the American soldier who went to France had to be trained six months at home and two or three months

abroad before he was ready for fighting at the battle front. The training was done on a tremendous scale, for it was soon seen that millions of men would be needed if Germany was to be beaten. Little army cities, called cantonments, were rapidly built in different parts of the country for housing the soldiers while they drilled and received the necessary instruction in the art of war. In each cantonment there were accommodations for nearly fifty thousand men. In addition to the cantonments and regular training camps there were schools for the training of officers, aviators, engineers, and others whose duties were of a special nature. Altogether the capacity of the camps and cantonments was sufficient for the housing and training of nearly a million and a half of men.

The training of such a vast army was indeed a difficult task but after the training was finished something even more difficult had to be done: the troops had to be carried across an ocean teeming with the deadly submarines of the enemy. And the submarine was not the only thing that stood in the way of transporting our army. There was such a lack of ships that it seemed at first that it would be impossible to carry the troops over. For nearly three years Germany had been waging a submarine warfare on the shipping of almost every nation, with the result that ships were scarce all over the world. Still, America was equal to the occasion. Every ship that could be pressed into the service was eagerly seized. We made use of the German vessels — about 100 in number — which were lying interned in our harbors; we hired ships from neutral nations and we used hundreds of the ships of the Allies; we built ships of our own in scores of shipyards where hundreds of thousands of strong men worked with all their might to build as quickly as possible the vessels that were so badly needed. Thus in one way and another we managed to get hold of enough vessels to make the bridge of ships to Europe — the bridge which the President said was necessary, if the war was to be won.

At first the movement of troops overseas was slow, not only

because ships were scarce, but also because it required time to train the men. But by the autumn of 1917 the training camps were active and the stream of soldiers bound for France began to flow. As the months passed the stream widened and grew in volume until it became a mighty flood. By the end of 1917 our boys were going over at the rate of 50,000 a month; by July, 1918, they were being rushed across at the rate of 10,000 a day. Before the end of October the number of Americans who had embarked for France exceeded 2,000,000. And the boys crossed in safety; the submarines were cheated of their prey. Not a single transport ship on its voyage to France was lost. For this splendid record we must thank our Navy which armed and convoyed the vessels carrying the troops.

The Americans Bring Timely Aid to the Allies. Our men began to land in France in large numbers just at a time when the Allies were sorely in need of help. For early in 1918 the Germans massed their entire force of nearly 4,000,000 men, with the purpose of making a drive, or of making a succession of drives, that would crush the Allies completely. And they hoped to crush them quickly. They wanted to win the war before a large American army could appear upon the scene. For the sake of a quick and crushing victory they were willing to sacrifice the loss of almost any number of German soldiers.

On March 28, 1918, the Germans began their terrific assault. For a while the whole world held its breath in suspense. The drive was made with such violence that the Allies were pushed back, and for several days it seemed that their line would break and that the Germans would capture Amiens, a great railroad center where the British supplies were, and then either press on to the channel ports or turn their armies southward and take Paris. But the British and the French fought stubbornly and with wonderful heroism, and Amiens was saved. So the first drive of the Germans

failed. Germany was quick, however, to begin a second drive. Again they were checked. By this time the troops of the United States, Great Britain and Italy, as well as those of France, had all been placed under the control of General Foch and this unity of control was working to the advantage of the Allies. Late in May the Germans began the third drive.

They had now to face a new enemy, for the Americans were at the front many thousand strong. At Château-Thierry our Second Division blocked the enemy's advance and in doing so stopped one of the most dangerous of the German drives. "We all thank God," said President Wilson, "that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance, and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle."

The victory of our boys at Château-Thierry was indeed a great event in the history of the war. It brought joy to the hearts of the Allies, for they saw that if the enemy had not been halted he might have been able to push on to Paris. But the victory of the Americans brought gloom to the hearts of the Germans. For it caused them to realize that a new foe had to be dealt with and they had learned to their sorrow that it was a foe that could fight. And their gloom grew deeper when they reflected that the number of American troops that had fought at Château-Thierry was only a handful when compared with the hundreds of thousands who would presently be coming forward to take their stand on the battle front.

The Americans Help to Carry the Allies to Victory. After their failure at Château-Thierry the Germans made two more drives, but both times they were foiled. By the middle of July they saw only too plainly that their great offensive movement had spent its force and that they must begin a defensive movement, that is, they must gradually draw back toward their frontiers, fighting as they retired. As soon as

they began their defensive movement General Foch began an offensive campaign with the result that before many weeks passed the Germans were on the retreat, suffering defeat after defeat.

In this advance of the Allies the Americans rendered dis-



Map Showing Where the Americans Fought

tinguished service from the beginning to the end. And the blows of the Americans grew heavier and heavier as their numbers grew larger and larger. At St. Mihiel in a three days' fight with a force of more than 500,000 troops they drove the enemy from a position which they had long held, captured 16,000 prisoners, and recovered 200 square miles of territory. But it was in the Argonne Forest that our boys did the hardest fighting. Here every available American division was thrown against the enemy and every available German division was thrown in to meet them. The battle in the

Argonne was beyond comparison the greatest ever fought by an American army and one of the greatest battles in the history of the world. The troops on the American side numbered nearly 1,200,000. The battle began in the last days of September and continued for forty-seven days. Foot by foot all through October the American troops pushed back the vast German armies and by November the power of the enemy was breaking fast.

The Armistice. By November 1, it was not only on the battle front that things were looking bad for Germany. For by that date her Allies (Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria) had decided to withdraw their aid and the German people were threatening to revolt. The German leaders for some time had seen certain defeat staring them in the face and as early as October 6 had



New York Celebrates the Armistice by Showering the City with Millions of "Scraps of Paper"

asked that the fighting might cease for a while in order that peace might be made. On November 11, 1918, this request of the Germans for an armistice was granted.

By the terms of the Armistice Germany agreed to withdraw her soldiers from Belgium and France; to surrender her submarines and disarm most of her battleships; to hand over to

the Allies immense numbers of cannon, machine guns, airplanes, locomotives and freight cars; to allow the German territory west of the Rhine to be occupied by the Allied armies. By accepting these terms Germany practically disarmed herself and agreed to an unconditional surrender. "The war," said President Wilson when announcing the terms of the surrender to Congress, "thus comes to an end, for having accepted these terms it will be impossible for the German command to renew it."

The Losses of War. And what an awful war it was! Never before in all history was there such a cruel and bloody struggle. The fighting lasted for fifty-two months. Nearly every important nation on earth was engaged. The deaths in this war were greater than all the deaths in all wars in all the world for more than 100 years previous. More than 7,000,000 men were killed and twice as many were wounded. Of Americans about 50,000 lost their lives and about four times as many were wounded. The total cost of the war to all the countries engaged was about \$200,000,000,000, a sum so large that the human mind cannot really comprehend how great a sum it is. Our own share of the cost was about \$14,000,000,000, an amount about equal to the value of all the gold produced in the whole world from the discovery of America to the present time.

But figures alone do not tell the whole story. When we think of the brave and strong men who were killed in the war we must at the same time think of the millions of women who were made widows, of the millions of children who were made orphans, and of the millions whose health was shattered by the hardships of the struggle. Then, too, we must think of the hundreds of towns and cities that were laid in ruins, and of the millions of acres of land that was torn up and rendered unfit for cultivation. Death, debt, and devastation—these have always been the price of war; but never in the history of man was the price so high as it was in the conflict that came to an end on November 11, 1918.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. In what way did Germany offend the United States early in 1917?
2. Give an account of President Wilson's call to arms.
3. After we entered the war what four things had to be done very quickly? Give an account of the Selective Draft Act.
4. In what ways was Uncle Sam helped by private citizens?
5. Give an account of the training of the soldiers, and of their transportation to Europe.
6. What was the military situation in France at the time our boys began to arrive?
7. What was the effect of our victory at Château-Thierry?
8. Tell the story of the fighting at St. Mihiel; in the Argonne.
9. Give an account of the Armistice.
10. What were the losses of the war?

PEACE

Having done their part in breaking the power of the enemy in far-off lands our people, as soon as the Armistice was signed, began at once to plan for victories of peace, and it was a hope of every American heart that the triumphs of peace would be no less glorious than those of war.

Disbanding the Army. Now that the war was over one of the first things that the Government had to do was to disband the Army. This was no easy task, for in the camps of the United States there were two millions of soldiers to be released, and in France there were two millions to be brought home. The task of demobilization was undertaken with a will, and soon great ships crowded with happy soldiers were sailing into American harbors. Within twelve months after the signing of the Armistice practically all the boys in France had been brought to America and all in the home camps had been released. The disbanded men went back to the farm and workshop and office and store, and the great Nation that had been bristling with arms at once renewed its peaceful way of living.

The Prohibition Amendment. During the war the enemies of the saloons worked day and night to secure the adoption of a Prohibition Amendment. This Amendment was to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the whole extent of the United States and throughout all territory belonging to the United States. Peace had hardly come before the efforts of the Prohibitionists were crowned



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Troops from Western States Returning Home on the *Aquitania*

with success. For in January, 1919, the Secretary of State announced that three-fourths of all the States had ratified the Prohibition Amendment. Thus one of the first things done by the government and by the people at the beginning of the peace-time period was to provide for a most remarkable social reform.

The Prohibition Amendment was the third which had been adopted within a period of six years, for, as you remember, two amendments were adopted in 1913 (p. 443). That is to say, within a very short period of time, the people by making changes in the Constitution, were able to secure three very

important reforms. Here is a lesson in Americanism that ought to be thoroughly learned. That lesson is this: in America we have a *constitutional* government and can bring about any reform we desire simply by changing the Constitution. And the best of it is, we can secure reforms in a peaceful, orderly manner. We do not have to resort to violence or revolution. So Americans ought not to think for a moment about violence when there is something they want the government to do. They must always remember that they have a constitutional government and that they can secure what they wish in a constitutional way.

“The Stranger Within Our Gates”; Americanization.

The war was hardly over before we began to realize that we had to deal, and deal promptly, with serious problems connected with our foreign population. You remember that in the Eighties our law-makers passed laws shutting the doors upon certain classes of undesirable immigrants (p. 369). In 1917 Congress put up still higher the bars against foreigners. This time it passed a law forbidding the entrance of illiterate aliens. The law provides that aliens over sixteen years of age desiring to reside in the United States must be able to read either the English language or some other language. If they are not able to read, they are refused admission and are sent back to the country from which they came.

But it was soon seen that merely to keep out ignorant aliens would not fully solve the problem of the foreigner. In the opening years of the twentieth century Greeks, Russians, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, Roumanians, rushed to America in throngs greater than was ever known in the history of immigration. In twelve years before the outbreak of the war in Europe the tremendous number of 15,000,000 foreigners came to the United States and entered industrial life. They went to work in our mines, and factories, and mills, and their labor was of great value to the nation. But they did not enter into the life of the American people; they did not really become Americans. They were ignorant of our language, they

did not understand our government, and they had no appreciation of the blessings of American citizenship. They were indeed "strangers within our gates" and during the war with Germany we began to see more clearly than ever before that the presence of this large body of strangers was a menace to America and that something must be done to remove the danger.

The problem was one of Americanization; the foreigners must be made Americans. They must learn to read and speak the language of Americans; they must be taught American history and learn the principles of our government. They must be encouraged to enter into the social and political life of our people and live in the American way. In fact, they must be made Americans through and through. This was the problem that had to be solved and earnestly did our people undertake its solution. Public spirited citizens carried on in a private way the work of Americanization, and night classes were formed in order that foreigners of any age might attend and learn the things that good Americans must know. Uncle Sam himself became interested in the subject of Americanization. Early in 1920 the United States passed the Kenyon Americanization Bill with the view of giving instruction to Americans. This bill provided that all aliens between the ages of sixteen and forty-five who cannot speak, read or write English should attend school not less than 200 hours a year. In order to carry out the purpose of the law there was appropriated a considerable sum of money to be distributed to the different States, each State to receive an amount apportioned to the number of illiterate aliens living within its boundaries. No State, however, was to receive a share of the money unless it appropriated an equal sum for the same purpose. Thus the Government at Washington and the government of the States were to work together at the great and important task of Americanization.

The Peace Conference and the League of Nations. About the time Congress was considering the Americanization Bill

the League of Nations was holding its first session in Paris. The League was formed by the Peace Conference which met in Paris a few weeks after the Armistice was signed. The Conference was called for the purpose of arranging the terms of a treaty of peace with Germany and her allies. President Wilson represented the United States at the Conference, attending its meetings in person. He went to Paris, he said, so that he might be in close touch with the Conference and take part in the discussions and settlement of the main features of the treaty. After about six months of debate the Conference agreed upon a treaty which was signed on June 28 by the representatives of nearly all the nations in the world. The treaty provided that Germany must give back Alsace and Lorraine (p. 409); that she must give up her colonies; that she must not maintain a regular army of more than 100,000 men; that she must no longer raise armies by conscription; that her navy must be greatly reduced; that she must lose her submarines; that she must pay France and Belgium an immense sum — about \$25,000,000,000 — for the destruction she had wrought in those countries; and that she must devote a certain portion of her material resources to the building up of the regions which her armies had devastated in Belgium and France. Germany had maintained great armies and navies but after the Conference had imposed upon her the hard conditions laid down in the treaty she probably no longer believed that warfare was a paying enterprise.

Besides arranging for the terms upon which Germany might have peace, the Conference drew up a plan for a League of Nations and provided that if three of the five great powers represented at the Conference (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan) should agree to the plan it should become a part of the treaty. By the last of October (1919) the Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy had agreed to the League. It therefore became an accomplished fact. It held its first session in Paris, although its permanent meeting place is at Geneva.

The main purpose of the League of Nations is to secure peace throughout the world. The statesmen who established it believed that there ought to be somewhere a force that has power to deal with a matter that threatens the peace of the world. They believed that the war which broke out in 1914 might have been prevented if there had been in existence a powerful League of Nations that could have said to Germany, "You must not march into Belgium; you must not attack France; you must not plunge the whole world into war." The member States belonging to the League of Nations agree: to reduce their armies and navies; to inform each other of their existing armies and of their naval and military programs; to respect each other's territory and personal independence; to submit international disputes either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council (a body composed of representatives of the League), refraining from going to war till three months after an award of the court of arbitration or a unanimous recommendation of the council has been made, and even then not to go to war with a State that accepts the award or the recommendation; to regard a State which has broken the covenants of the League as having committed an act of war against the League and to break off trade relations with it, and if force is to be applied, the council recommends what amount of force shall be supplied by the several governments concerned. A State which breaks its agreement may be expelled from the League by the council.

It was the hope of President Wilson that the United States might become a member of the League, but it could not become a member without the consent of the United States Senate. This consent was not readily given. Indeed at the time the League held its first session (January 16, 1920) our country was still outside this new society of nations.

APPENDIX I

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained: and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its

boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and

the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett,
Wm. Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay

Saml. Adams,
John Adams,
Robt. Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island

Step. Hopkins,
William Ellery.

Connecticut

Roger Sherman,
Sam'l Huntington,
Wm. Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

New York

Wm. Floyd,
Phil. Livingston,
Frans. Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey

Richd. Stockton,
Jno. Witherspoon,
Fras. Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania

Robt. Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benja. Franklin,
John Morton,
Geo. Clymer,
Jas. Smith,
Geo. Taylor,
James Wilson,
Geo. Ross.

Delaware

Cæsar Rodney,
Geo. Read,
Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland

Samuel Chase,
Wm. Paca,
Thos. Stone,

Charles Carroll of Car-
rollton.

Virginia

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Th. Jefferson,
Benja. Harrison,
Thos. Nelson, jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina

Wm. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

South Carolina

Edward Rutledge,
Thos. Heyward, Junr.,
Thomas Lynch, Junr.,
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
Geo. Walton.

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2 No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.¹ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

¹ The last half of this sentence was superseded by the 13th and 14th Amendments. (See p. 490, following.)

4 When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1 The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1 Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2 Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and

against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1 The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post offices and post roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13 To provide and maintain a navy;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia,

and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,¹ and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.²

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10.³ 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit

¹ The District of Columbia, which comes under these regulations, had not then been erected.

² A temporary clause, no longer in force. See also Article V, p. 486.

³ See also the 10th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, pp. 489, 490, 491.

bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION I. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate, shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In

every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.¹

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1 The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided

¹ This paragraph superseded by the 12th Amendment, p. 489.

for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;¹—between citizens of different States,—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to

1 See the 11th Amendment, p. 489.

law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1 Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such, acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.¹

SECTION 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so

¹ See the 13th Amendment, p. 490.

construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the

seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GO: WASHINGTON —

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B. Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt. Morris
Geo. Clymer
Thos. Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv Morris

Delaware

Geo: Read
Gunning Bedford Jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

Maryland

James McHenry
Dan of St. Thos Jenifer
Danl. Carroll

Virginia

John Blair —
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

Wm. Blount
Richd. Dobbs Spaight
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

Attest

WILLIAM JACKSON Secretary.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I¹

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion,

¹ The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI¹

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII²

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President,

¹ Adopted in 1798.

² Adopted in 1804.

as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII ¹

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV ²

SECTION 1. All persons born, or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer

¹ Adopted in 1865.

² Adopted in 1868.

of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV¹

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI²

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII²

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

¹ Adopted in 1870.

² Adopted in 1913.

ARTICLE XVIII¹

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States on all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Adopted in 1919.

APPENDIX III

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¹ Raised to the Presidency from the Vice-Presidency.

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APPENDIX IV

READING LIST

Below is a list of books to which reference is made at the end of the chapters. The figures in parentheses at the end of a title indicates the number of times the book is referred to, and therefore indicates its relative usefulness in connection with the text.

The key to the publishers is as follows:

A. = American Book Co., New York
 Ap. = D. Appleton & Co., New York
 C. = Century Co., New York
 Cro. = Thomas Y. Crowell, New York
 G. = Ginn & Co., Boston
 Har. = Harper & Bros., New York
 Hou. = Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston
 Lit. = Little, Brown, & Co., Boston

Long. = Longmans, Green & Co., New York
 M. = Macmillan Co., New York
 Mo. = Moffat, Yard & Co., New York
 P. = G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York
 Sc. = Charles Scribner's Sons, New York
 Sil. = Silver Burdett & Co., New York

1. Bogart, E. L. Economic History of the United States. Long (8)
2. Brigham, A. P. From Trail to Railway. G. (3)
3. Brooks, Elbridge S. Historic Americans. Cro. (5)
4. Bruce, H. Addington. The Romance of American Expansion. Mo. (6)
5. Century Readings in United States History. (In six small volumes. C.
 - Explorers and Settlers (16)
 - The Colonists and the Revolution (11)
 - A New Nation (12)
 - The Westward Movement (3)
 - The Civil War (13)
 - The Progress of the United People (10)
6. Chandler, J. R. C. and Chitwood, O. P. Makers of American History. Sil. (6)
7. Coe, Fanny E. Makers of the Nation. A. (9)
8. Dewey, D. R. National Problems. Har. (3)
9. Eggleston, Edward. The History of the United States and Its People. Ap. (26)
10. Faris, John T. Makers of Our History. G. (15)
11. Forman, S. E. Stories of Useful Inventions. C. (9)
12. Hart, A. B. Source-Book of American History. M. (22)
13. Hitchcock, Ripley. Decisive Battles of America. H. (12)
14. Hotchkiss, Caroline W. Representative Cities of the United States. Hou. (8)

15. Lane, A. A. and Mabel Hill. American History in Literature. G. (9)
16. Lawler, T. B. The Story of Columbus and Magellan. G. (4)
17. McLaughlin, A. C. Readings in the History of the American Nation. Ap. (14)
18. Ogg, F. A. National Progress. Har. (6)
19. Parkman, Francis. The Struggle for a Continent; edited from the writings of Parkman by Edgar Pelham. Lit. (11)
20. Roosevelt, Theodore, and Others. Stories of the Republic. P. (2)
21. Schafer, Joseph. History of the Pacific Northwest. M. (4)
22. Whitney, Edson L. and Perry, Frances M. Four American Indians. A. (2)

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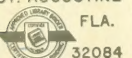






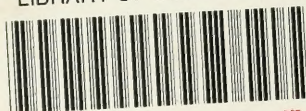
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